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CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Obukhov Urges U.S. 'Reciprocity' on Arms 1
Article Examines INF Policy Decision *[Dadyants in SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 17 Aug]* ... 1
Scholar Views Prospects for Disarmament *[Bykov in PRAVDA 11 Aug]* 3

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Petrovskiy News Conference on Ecology Problems 6
Denies Radioactive Waste Exported 6
Proposes Cooperation With West 6
NATO General's View of Soviet Policy Analyzed *[Chernyshev]* 7
More on Gerasimov Remarks on Nevada Tests 8
UN General Assembly Allocates Cease-Fire Funds 8
EEC Welcomes CEMA Readiness for Ties 8
Khristoradnov Receives Indian, Gabonese Groups *[IZVESTIYA 13 Aug]* 9

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Republicans Try To Defuse Quayle 'Scandal' 10
Quayle, Republican Platform Discussed *[Gan in PRAVDA 16 Aug]* 10
Rogachev Receives U.S. Congressman Solarz 11
U.S. Hindering Departure of Armenians *[MOSCOW NEWS No 32]* 11
U.S., Soviet Scientists To Conduct Lake Study 12
Incident at Nuclear Plant in South Carolina 13

China

Zhao Ziyang Cited on Summit Prospects 13
XINHUA Cited on Lessons of War for Japan *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 13
Taiwan Issue in U.S.-PRC Affairs Viewed 14
Returned Seamen Claim Maltreatment in Taiwan 14
Interviewed on Imprisonment 15

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Reaction to Ziaul Haq Death 16
Presidium Sends Condolences 16
Astrauskas Heads Funeral Party 16
Delegation Leaves for Islamabad 16
Gerasimov Denies Afghan Role *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 16
Paper Views Islamabad Situation *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 19 Aug]* 16
Aftermath of Crash Viewed *[Soltan]* 17
U.S. Teams To Help Probe Pakistan Air Disaster 17
Konduz Situation Returning to 'Normal' 18
TV on 'Lessons' of Konduz 18
Gen Serebrov Views Soviet Role in Afghanistan 18
Afghan Premier on 'Internal Reconciliation' 20
Najibullah Gives National Day Speech 21
Paper Discusses Upcoming Lebanese Elections *[IZVESTIYA 18 Aug]* 21

Sub-Saharan Africa

Disaster Aid To Be Dispatched to Sudan 22
Congo's Sassou-Nguesso Receives Soviet Group *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 22
Mali Delegation's Arrival in Moscow Reported *[PRAVDA 13 Aug]* 22
Received by Demichev *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 22
Angolan Foreign Ministry Announces Talks Venue 22

East Europe

Further Reportage on Labor Strikes in Poland 23
PZPR Notes Situation 23
Moscow TV Report 23
Western Radios' 'Anti-Czechoslovak' Attacks 23
Albania Reduces Anti-Soviet Rhetoric 23
Briefs 24
Kirghiz Academy-Bulgarian Agreement 24

West Europe

Afghan Foreign Minister Meets Press in Helsinki 24
Genscher Welcomes Improved FRG-USSR Ties *[MOSCOW NEWS No 32]* 24

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Anti-Panamanian Campaign' Attacked *[Zafesov in PRAVDA 12 Aug]* 25
Ortega Calls for Dialogue With United States *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 26
Chilean Communists View Upcoming Plebiscite *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 26

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Agriculture, Criminal Law *[PRAVDA 19 Aug]* 27
Solomentsev Discusses Rehabilitation Commission *[PRAVDA 19 Aug]* 28
Supreme Soviet Reverses Deprivation of Orders 34
Removed Library Books Available on Request *[IZVESTIYA 19 Aug]* 34
Fate of Lithuanian 'Political' Prisoner Noted *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 33]* 35
'True Nature' of 'Political' Prisoners Viewed *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 34]* 35
Katusev Interviewed on Sumgait Investigation 36
Nagorno-Karabakh Raykom Official Interviewed 36
Writer Reviews, Ponders Nagorno-Karabakh Events
[Prokhanov in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 10 Aug] 37
Kazakhstan Leader Cited on Nationalities Issue 42
Moldavian Light Industry Ministry Disbanded 42
Streamlining of Moscow City Administration *[IZVESTIYA 14 Aug]* 43
Previously 'Secret,' Other Documents on Display 44
Nikonov Addresses Conference in Kalinin 44
'Inter-Farm Cooperation' Noted 44
Action on Food, Housing Needed 45
Leningrad 'Pamyat' Activities Deplored *[MOSCOW NEWS No 32]* 45
Editorial on Role of Grassroots Party Groups *[PRAVDA 16 Aug]* 46
Razumovskiy on 'Reports and Elections' Campaign *[PRAVDA 18 Aug]* 47
Conference Held on Intersectorial Associations
[Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 16 Jul] 50
'Aurora' Rail Crash Site Shown on Television 50
Charges Filed; Injury Update 51

Economic

Professor Urges Multiple Plan Options *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 16 Aug]* 51

Agricultural

Harvest Progress, Problems, Possible Solutions 52
Feed Procurement Difficulties *[PRAVDA 11 Aug]* 52
Eastern Grain Shortfall *[IZVESTIYA 18 Aug]* 53
Kazakh Official's Assessment *[PRAVDA 16 Aug]* 55
Agricultural Developments for 16-17 Aug 56

Scientific

Defense Ministry Film Depicts 'Energiya' Rocket 57
Soviet, Afghan Cosmonauts Report to Space Center 57

Military

Yefimov Interviewed on Air Force Day 58
Notes Stalinist Purges *[Budapest]* 58
Yazov Answers Soldiers on Discipline *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Aug]* 59
Army Exhibition Displays Consumer Goods *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 16 Aug]* 60
Shestopalov Presents Challenge Banner *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 14 Aug]* 60

Obukhov Urges U.S. 'Reciprocity' on Arms

LD1808183388 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 18 TASS—Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, has met with local and foreign newsmen here today. Speaking of the state of things at the talks, whose latest round started on July 12, he stressed that the USSR delegation had arrived at it firmly intending to complete the drafting of the treaty on a 50-per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons in conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty, within the shortest time possible and without unjustified delay.

There are, in our view, all the necessary prerequisites for the successful fulfilment of that task, he said. They are above all the decisions on the complex of questions pertaining to nuclear and space arms, which were achieved as a result of the Soviet-American summit meetings in Washington in December 1987 and in Moscow in May-June this year. Useful work was also done by the delegations at the Geneva talks in the course of the preceding round—joint drafts of the treaty and documents connected with it as well as the draft protocol on an agreement being prepared on questions pertaining to the ABM Treaty have been hammered out.

The objective is to do vigorous purposeful work to free the above-said documents from the "brackets" contained in them as regards the provisions, on which the sides have not reached agreement so far. Another urgent objective is to put to use the new areas of agreement in the documents being drafted, which were reached as a result of the summit meeting in Moscow on the questions of control of mobile launchers of intercontinental ballistic missiles as well as on the limitations on long-range air-based cruise missiles and heavy bombers. We, the ambassador emphasized, favour the resolution of these issues in full.

Special attention, the head of the Soviet delegation said should be nowadays devoted to the questions of space weapons and as regards limitations on the deployment of long-range sea-based cruise missiles.

Without reaching agreement on observance of the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972 and its non-withdrawal in the course of an agreed period, it would be impossible to effect a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons. Agreement has been reached at the top level on questions pertaining to ABM. It was placed on record in the joint Soviet-American statement in Washington of December 10, 1987 and reaffirmed at the meeting in Moscow. The Soviet side favours that the Washington formula should be reflected accurately and in its integrity in the agreeement being drafted on observance and non-withdrawal of the ABM Treaty with its corresponding legal sealing. That would settle the question.

It is also clear that the treaty being drafted on strategic offensive weapons would be incomplete without the resolution of the question of limitations on long-range sea-based cruise missiles. It is necessary to close also that channel reliably. Issues of control should not be an obstacle to the settlement of that problem. They are also quite solvable. The Soviet side has tabled far-reaching proposals on that score, providing for a broad package of measures up to the possibility of inspections on a mutual basis in any naval ship of each of the sides.

We hope to convince the U.S. side to accept the radical solutions proposed by us on questions of control both as regards long-range sea-based cruise missiles and as regards other types of strategic offensive weapons, to which the treaty being drafted will apply.

Agreements can be reached only as a result of joint efforts by the sides. Statements on preparedness for constructive work are not enough. They should be complemented with specific proposals aimed at a search for mutually acceptable, compromise resolution of the so far outstanding issues with due account of the legitimate security interests of the sides. This is precisely how the Soviet side acts at the talks being conducted and we have the right to expect reciprocity from the U.S. delegation.

Article Examines INF Policy Decision

PM1808113388 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Aug 88 p 5

[International observer Georgiy Dadyants article: "The Echo of the Saryozek Explosions"—first paragraph boldface as published]

[Text] **The destruction of Soviet shorter-range missiles has started in Saryozek. These are the first steps in the specific implementation of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty, and they quite naturally have attracted the world public's special attention. "But our joy that weapons capable of killing millions of people are finally being destroyed," our newspaper's reader S. Konoplev from Moscow writes to the editorial office, "is mixed with a sense of bitterness. What about the resources spent on producing and siting them?"**

This is probably a legitimate question and, in the conditions of glasnost, it calls for a frank answer.

There is also another aspect which cannot be ignored by our public opinion. During the preliminary discussion of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty by the Supreme Soviet commissions and in the process of its ratification, it was stated that the principle of equality and identical security would be observed during the elimination of missiles and that the security of the USSR and its allies would remain reliably guaranteed. But since the military-strategic balance would not be disrupted as

a result of the elimination of missiles, why were these missiles necessary in the first place? Why is it that, having departed from point A, we are now returning to that point?

The 19th party conference mentioned mistakes that occurred in our foreign policy activity in the past. It was said in particular that, in response to the nuclear challenge with which we were presented, we concentrated huge resources on the military aspect of countering imperialism and did not always take advantage of political opportunities to ease tension and ensure our state's security. Consequently the country found itself caught up in the arms race, and this could not fail to affect its socioeconomic development and international position.

Is this situation not illustrated to a certain extent by the story of the siting of intermediate-range missiles, and afterwards of shorter-range missiles, on the continent of Europe?

Let us recall that the problem of intermediate-range missiles as a class of nuclear weapons arose after we embarked on replacing our outdated nuclear missiles by new ones, which were codenamed SS-20 in the West. In itself, the modernization of nuclear weapons and replacing one set of missiles with another is something natural. But the combat specifications of the SS-20's, their mobility, and their operational range differed substantially from those of the SS-12's, and this gave the West a pretext to perceive our actions as an attempt to disrupt the strategic balance prevailing in Europe. U.S. and West European propaganda launched an extensive campaign in connection with the "new Soviet threat" allegedly facing Europe.

Was it or was it not necessary to site the SS-20 missiles? Now, reviewing the issue through the prism of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty, it is possible to give an unambiguous answer: It was not necessary. It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the situation in the world in the early eighties was not the same as today. That was the "peak" of tension in the international arena.

It seems to me that reproach for this ought to be addressed not to our military for having started the siting of missiles, but rather to the politicians who failed at that time to take advantage of the opportunity for a peaceful solution to the "missile crisis." In particular, we rejected the "zero option" proposed by President Reagan and insisted on including in the "Eurostrategic balance" the nuclear forces of Britain and France—countries which were not participants in the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States. Our call to impose a moratorium on missile siting was not all that convincing, since our missiles were already sited and the Americans had no missiles of that class in Europe at the time.

The outcome of evading a political solution to the question is well known. NATO made its "two-track decision," and the siting of U.S. Pershing-2 and ground-based cruise missiles, of a class similar to the SS-20's, began at the end of 1983 in West Europe.

In response to the start of the deployment of U.S. missiles, we pulled out of the Geneva talks and proclaimed our decision to deploy additional enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles on GDR and CSSR territory. The logic of confrontation once more gained the upper hand.

Meanwhile, the siting of U.S. intermediate-range missiles on the continent of Europe created a direct threat to the security of our country and our allies, since the flight time of a Pershing-2 is 8-10 minutes. Essentially, by way of "compensation" for the SS-20's, we ended up with U.S. missiles in Europe which were strategic as far as our country was concerned—the SS-20's, despite all their high combat and flight specifications, were incapable of reaching U.S. territory, while the Pershing-2 and cruise missiles could have reached our territory in a matter of minutes.

It was at that time that the situation in Europe reached the height of exacerbation, while the arms race approached a critical point. Against this background, the 19th party conference emphasized, our traditional political and public activity in favor of peace and disarmament started losing its persuasiveness. To put it more bluntly, had the logic of such a development not been destroyed, it would have been perfectly feasible to find ourselves on the brink of military confrontation.

There was a need for new political thinking making it possible to perceive and discover new opportunities to counter the policy of strength on a broader political basis than before. An example of such thinking was provided by the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles treaty signed in Washington, envisaging a "double zero" for two classes of nuclear arms—the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (which was the new name given to operational-tactical missiles). It can be seen from this treaty's example that the ensuring of states' security today is moving from the sphere of the correlation of military potential to the sphere of political cooperation and strict fulfillment of international commitments.

Now that the SS-20's, Pershing-2's, ground-based cruise missiles, and shorter-range missiles are on their way to the trash heap, it is appropriate to ask: What did we gain and what did we lose as a result of the solution to the "missile crisis"? The main political gain is, of course, the Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles itself, because its importance reaches far beyond the framework of both the siting and destruction of missiles. It is not in vain that this treaty is described as the first step toward a nuclear-free world, a precedent providing the basis for building all future agreements on

disarmament. Among other things, the treaty attests that armed forces must be organized on the principles of sufficiency for defense purposes.

It must not be forgotten, however, that we acquired this treaty at a high price. A tremendous quantity of expensive military equipment is being destroyed. The latest missiles will be demolished by detonation or eliminated by burning, while their warhead airframes will be crushed in presses. Launchers and support equipment will be rendered useless for military purposes.

It was said at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session on the treaty's ratification that the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will ultimately make it possible to release considerable resources to satisfy social needs. This is true, of course. The scientific and production potential that will be released in industry's defense sectors will be geared toward the production of civilian output: Additional output worth tens of millions of rubles is planned to flow into the national economy already this year as a result of the conversion of industrial capacities used for missile production. Instead of missiles, they will produce drilling equipment, metal cutting machine tools, high technology machines for the processing of agricultural produce, and so on. According to preliminary estimates, some R300 million previously allocated for military expenditure will now be channeled into the social sphere.

Unfortunately, however, nobody has yet calculated accurately either the specific losses incurred by our national economy by actually producing the missiles, launchers, and support equipment which will now be destroyed, or the actual cost of their elimination. In all probability, calculations here will also run into hundreds of millions of rubles.

It is only to be expected that our readers' feelings of joy and relief at the elimination of the missiles should be accompanied by a sense of some bitterness.

Western countries, and the United States in particular, have a rule: Any expenditure, including that on specific types of arms, is appropriated by Congress. Evidently we also need to elaborate a corresponding legislative procedure for the approval of military appropriations. This would be in line with the shaping of a constitutionally empowered mechanism to debate and adopt the most important foreign policy decisions, as it was said at the 19th party conference and the recently held scientific and practical conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The question is: Has our response to imperialism's nuclear missile provocations always been appropriate? This must cross people's minds as they hear the echo of the Saryozek explosions.

Scholar Views Prospects for Disarmament

PM1808122188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by O. Bykov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, under the rubric "The 19th Party Conference and Problems of Peace": "Overturning the Logic of the Arms Race"]

[Text] In the past 2-3 years the world situation has markedly improved. Confrontation in international affairs has begun to give way to cooperation. There have been positive advances in Soviet-American relations. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been concluded and gone into force. Opportunities have occurred to ease the dangerous military confrontation in Europe. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan has begun on the basis of the Geneva agreements. The influence of world public opinion in international relations has increased. The direct threat of nuclear war has diminished.

All this is undoubtedly true, and it makes one optimistic that the breakthrough in world development for which mankind has waited so long is approaching. But the bitter experience of the past poses an awkward question: Has not what is happening at the moment happened before, in the past? In fact, on more than one occasion there have been glimmers of light on the international horizon, but, again and again, the black clouds of the danger of war have swept in. What is new about the present situation? Most important of all, what guarantee is there that what has happened will not recur?

Let us look at the recent past. Indeed, in the international arena tension has alternated with periods of detente. But none of these periods was destined to be irreversible. Why? The explanation is relatively simple if one is talking about the first thaws in the international climate in the latter half of the fifties and beginning of the sixties. The shoots of political realism, barely breaking though the dense crust of distrust and enmity, could not survive the icy breath of the cold war. It was the latter that set the tone of world politics—one minute it was overt, the next minute it was all secret. The cold war's main source of nourishment was the imperialist policy based on military, above all nuclear, force. The United States, which had by then lost the monopoly on nuclear weapons and the strategic invulnerability of its territory, was still acting in international affairs "from a position of strength."

But at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies the situation changed, and changed radically. Strategic parity was established between the USSR and the United States. The inevitability of a total arms race led to an impasse, where nuclear weapons ceased to be a means of attaining any rational goal. There could be no victor in a war in which they were used. Both the direct antagonists and the whole of mankind would be consumed in the flames of a nuclear conflagration.

Strategic military equilibrium objectively strengthened international peace and established the basis for a move away from fruitless and dangerous confrontation to constructive and mutually advantageous cooperation. It seemed to be time to embark in earnest on solving the central problem of our times—the problem of mankind's survival—and completely eliminate nuclear war both in the conceptual plane and in the plane of material preparations for it. And steps were taken in that direction, but the steps were not decisive or consistent enough.

Despite certain measures to limit the arms race it continued to gather speed, increase its dimensions, and threaten to spread to new areas, in particular space. A gap opened and widened between the awareness of the unacceptability of nuclear war and the preservation of the established global system of military confrontation. The prevention of war is the paramount task of a sensible policy, but the colossal forces and resources deployed by the opposing sides over the decades continued to be geared to the possibility of waging a war and even winning it.

It was a paradoxical phenomenon, but perfectly easy to explain. The stereotypes of pre-parity and in some cases of pre-nuclear times are very much alive and well. The realistic trend has not yet gained priority in the policy of the United States and other NATO countries; it exists alongside the confrontational trend which is constantly being fed by the interests of the most bellicose groupings of the Western ruling elite. The positions of the military-industrial complex remain intact. The very process of accumulation and refinement of armaments has acquired a massive force of inertia. The arms race is escalating steeply.

A critical analysis demands the admission that the Soviet Union's responses to the militarist challenges of the United States and NATO have not always been appropriate. Even after the attainment of strategic parity it focused attention and resources on the military aspect of safeguarding security to the detriment of the exploitation of political opportunities to that end, and thus allowed itself to be drawn into the arms race. This resulted in an unwarranted drain on resources required for the solution of the country's acute domestic problems, and the Soviet initiatives in favor of peace and disarmament began to lose conviction.

Military competition, nullifying the positive changes which were becoming apparent in international affairs, became increasingly self-sustaining. It threatened to get out of political control, become irreversible, and create critical tension fraught with unpredictable consequences.

The slide to universal destruction had to be halted. This required qualitatively new political thinking and a sober view of the realities of a contradictory and explosive, but interrelated world. The bold, creative reappraisal of the strategy and tactics of Soviet foreign policy, started by the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and 27th party congress as part and parcel of the revolutionary restructuring in our society, gave rise to a philosophy of peace and disarmament based on consistent realism and comprehensive consideration in international affairs of the diversity of interests and the integral nature of the world community, and the priority of general human values.

The Soviet program of stage-by-stage elimination of mass destruction weapons, other singular, major initiatives, and the willingness to make profound compromises activated the talks on disarmament questions, which had been getting nowhere for many years. The elaboration of mutually acceptable solutions was lifted out of the deep rut of fruitless bargaining over individual aspects of military confrontation and the pursuit of short-term propaganda advantages, and raised to the highest political level. The meetings between the Soviet and U.S. leaders in Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow, revealing the deep-lying common interests of mutual and general security, made a fundamental breakthrough in the disarmament sphere possible. After 4 decades of the baneful influence of military competition on Soviet-American and, in fact, international relations in general, a step of historic significance was taken—the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was concluded.

The commencement of the destruction of two classes of the most up-to-date weapons is significant not only in itself. This unprecedented event reflects the profound, qualitative changes the new political thinking has introduced into the disarmament sphere. Whereas in the sixties and seventies there were only partial measures to limit the arms race, now the cutting of a considerable quantity of armaments and the consistent dismantling of the entire military machine are becoming a reality. The elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles is the precursor of a 50-percent reduction of the main, strategic forces of the USSR and the United States, and then further nuclear disarmament. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was an example of the way to approach the elimination of imbalance and asymmetry, and not only in nuclear, but also in other types of armaments. It is hard to overestimate the significance of the real revolution in the sphere of verification connected with the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Exchange of on-site inspections, which was unimaginable not so long ago, is now the prototype of an extensive system of mutual trust and mutual monitoring of future disarmament agreements.

Real disarmament has started—this is the chief thing that distinguishes the present improvement of the international situation from all previous ones. The sinister cycle of confrontation and the arms race have been broken. They are beginning to be gradually pushed away by the beneficial interaction of the dynamically developing political dialogue and the continuous process of arms elimination.

Nevertheless, to all appearances, it is premature to talk about a radical breakthrough in world politics and say that the curtailment of the arms race that has begun is irreversible. The road ahead for disarmament is by no means smooth. Much of what was blocking or impeding it in the past remains to this day and is not going to disappear in the foreseeable future. The foundations of the global system of military confrontation that has always been an obstacle to military and political detente have not been touched yet. This gigantic, ossified system, geared primarily to waging war, not to preventing it, objectively became obsolete long ago in its present form and is increasingly finding itself at odds with the realities of the modern world. But it is highly stable, continues to act in accordance with the "mirror image" principle, and is unsusceptible to transformation even under the pressure of profound changes in the world situation. Moreover, by relying on the established system of confrontation, the militarist forces are trying to halt any further curtailment of the arms race.

There are worrying symptoms of a dangerous trend. Disarmament is just taking its first steps, but the military and political leaders of the United States and NATO are already concerned lest it make them reorganize and adapt to the new conditions. Having lost the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, they are demanding "compensation" in the form of modernization of the remaining nuclear weapons, and are obstructing movement toward lowering the level of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. Once again there are calls to hang on to "trump cards" at disarmament talks, although practice has shown that they do not help, but hinder the reaching of agreements and that they aggravate distortions in the balance of forces which are so difficult to straighten out. This has all happened before.

So is it possible, then, for militarism to again block the positive process that has begun? Obviously it would be a dangerous illusion to regard such a development as out of the question. But it is equally wrong to regard it as inevitable. In the present, fundamentally new, unique situation it is possible to overturn the logic of the arms race and make the changes for the better in international life irreversible. The necessary prerequisites for this exist today.

Above all, real disarmament—in active interplay with political dialogue among states and actions by the peace-loving public—can serve as a powerful stimulus to the general demilitarization of international relations and strengthening of general security. The arms elimination process has enormous, dynamic power for further continuous development in both depth and breadth. Beginning with the removal of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles from the equation, it creates a "chain reaction" through the arms spectrum. Such key problems as a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments while preventing weapons from being placed in space; the limitation and ultimate complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests; a total ban on chemical weapons and the destruction of stocks, and the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe have been placed on a footing of practical solution.

It is perfectly clear that increasing reciprocal efforts are needed for a mutually acceptable solution of these tasks. There must be no pauses in the disarmament process. Progress in one area is meant to contribute to advances in others. Nuclear and conventional disarmament must flow together in a common channel.

This is the objective of the foreign policy activity of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states, as eloquently evidenced, in particular, by the enterprising new initiatives they put forward at the recent Warsaw conference of the Political Consultative Committee. The allied countries proposed an appreciable lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe through the elimination of existing imbalances and asymmetries, a substantial mutual reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments, the adoption of measures to prevent a surprise attack, extensive exchange of information, and the creation of an effective verification system.

As well as the disarmament that is gathering momentum, another promising trend can be discerned in the present situation—recognition of the vital need to bring military confrontation, while lowering its level and strengthening mutual trust, into line with the strategic situation today. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the opposing military systems need to be restructured but, in view of their dissimilarity, not necessarily on a strictly symmetrical and synchronous basis. This process is part and parcel of disarmament, although it is by no means rigidly dependent on it. It is capable of developing largely independently, not waiting for more disarmament agreements, but even anticipating them and thereby preparing favorable ground for them.

The USSR military doctrine, geared to preventing war, is in accord with the spirit of present-day USSR foreign policy. The nonoffensive nature of this doctrine demands profound transformations in the military-technical sphere and a reasonable sufficiency of forces and facilities. As was stressed in the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, all defense development must henceforth be geared primarily to qualitative parameters. While guaranteeing the reliable security of the Soviet state and its allies, it must be implemented strictly in accordance with our defensive doctrine.

Something noticeably new is taking shape in world politics. And in the not too distant future one will see the contours of reasonable, civilized relations between states and peoples in which the arms race, through common efforts, can be pushed into the background once and for all and ultimately banished completely from the life of human society. The future belongs to disarmament.

Petrovskiy News Conference on Ecology Problems

LD1808134488 Moscow TASS in English 1228 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, called stockpiling of ecological problems a delayed-action bomb. Speaking today in the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Centre at a press conference devoted to questions of ecology, he noted that a place of importance was given to the ecological sphere in the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in establishing a system of all-embracing security. The gradual ruin of the natural environment is distinguished from a nuclear holocaust only for the fact that it is not a sudden and one-time but a slow destruction of the basics of human life, said the diplomat.

Provided there is political will, solution of any difficult international questions, including ecological ones, is quite possible and attainable. "Prohibition of environmental modification techniques for military purposes is an operating rule of international law," said the deputy minister. "Measures of real nuclear disarmament (elimination of two classes of missiles) and settlement of crisis situations (Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, South-West Africa, Kampuchea, etc.) are at the same time a step towards protecting the environment from the pernicious influence of military conflicts. The more so, since there are grounds for hopes of bringing to naught processes of degradation of the environment as a result of man's production and economic activities."

The July conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries adopted a document which suggests pooling of the efforts of the world community in the interests of an effective solution of environmental problems and, in particular, it proposes that a comprehensive convention be drafted which would contain rules for ecological behaviour of states as well as the main areas of cooperation. The main thing needed now is immediate practical actions. "Backing the idea of holding in 1992 a new, second U.N. conference on the environment, which could approve the above convention, we are also ready for the conference to be called much earlier," said Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Denies Radioactive Waste Exported

LD1808165988 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—Today a looming ecological disaste has added up to the nuclear danger. All this is a result of the fact that in the past there were too many unwilling to be nature friends, unwilling to tackle, together with it, vital problems for people but willing to conquer it, Fedor Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection, said today at the news conference "for international ecological security." "As a result," he went on to say, "Brazilian forests are in a deplorable state, we witness desertification of many African areas and the Aral sea is drying up. It is possible to rectify the situation, but new approaches and new ecological philosophy are needed for this purpose."

The Soviet people are convinced that measures to prevent negative developments in the world ecological situation should be carried on national and international levels. Many countries, above all industrialized states, took a number of measures to decrease harmful effects of man's economic activities on the environment, said Fedor Morgun. But this is only the start.

The news conference pointed to the importance of the disarmament process for organizing measures to protect the environment. Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, noted that the disarmament process should be accompanied not only by control measures and the use of funds saved for peaceful purposes but also by a broad range of nature-protection measures. News conference participants were told data that it is necessary to invest one billion dollars in five years to restore tropical forests playing an important role in regeneration of the atmosphere, and 4.5 billion dollars in two decades to check desertification. It is necessary to spend 30 billion dollars in a decade to make water clean all over the globe.

A detailed analysis of all manifestations of human activity shows that it is necessary to change its character taking into account the fact that resources and self-cleaning ability of nature are limited, said Academician Boris Laskorin. Academician Nikolay Ponomarev-Stepanov pointed out that "atomic energy is an alternative energy-generating technology which is capable of giving mankind virtually unlimited fuel resources. Besides, it is ecologically cleaner than other energy technologies, provided it functions smoothly."

Replying to a question by a journalist, Vladimir Petrovskiy said that the Soviet Union had never exported radioactive wastes to other countries for burial.

Proposes Cooperation With West

LD1908001788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1921 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Excerpts] A news conference was held today at the Press Center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was devoted to the subject of international ecological security. Our correspondent Sergey Viktorovich Pokryshkin reports:

[Pokryshin] In his opening words, USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy noted that there is an acute need for renewed political, economic, and conceptual consciousness regarding environmental protection at national and international levels.

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] There is no room here for mutual reproaches and accusations, ideological confontations or propaganda battles. [passage omitted]

The Warsaw Treaty member states are putting forward a program of immediate actions to ensure ecological security on the basis of the most diverse and open international cooperation. At the session of the [Warsaw Pact] Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw this July, they adopted a document proposing unification of the efforts of the international community in the interests of an effective solution to environmental problems. [passage omitted] The document proposes jointly starting to elaborate a comprehensive convention containing both the norms of ecological behavior for states and the main spheres of their cooperation. Even now, in the opinion of socialist countries, it is necessary to use the progress that has taken shape in disarmament for the revitalization of the efforts aimed at protecting the environment. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Pokryshkin] The document adopted by the Warsaw Treaty participants was handed over to all the EEC member states, and to leading international and regional organizations. The impression, Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy said, is that they are reacting positively. [passage omitted]

At this news conference, Vladimir Petrovich stressed:

[Begin Petrovskiy recording] We want once again to remind all countries of the fact that we think it necessary to start this cooperation this very day, right now. And the Soviet Union is open to cooperation in any form, be it bilateral, regional, or international. [end recording]

NATO General's View of Soviet Policy Analyzed

LD1808175788 Moscow TASS in English 1728 GMT 18 Aug 88

["TASS News Analyst on General Galvin's Strange Stand"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—By TASS military news writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

Supreme Allied Commander Europe, General John Galvin, speaking in West Berlin on Wednesday, alleged that the USSR's peace declarations did not so far tell on its policy in the military area: arms production and provision of the USSR's Armed Forces with arms are continuing as before. The general expressed "concern" that the Western public "erroneously" receives Soviet statements on disarmament as an accomplished fact of reduction in military might.

In connection with these statements one should like to remind to John Galvin of what is now taking place in the Soviet Union in the military area. Above all it should be noted that perestroyka which is underway in our country also involves the armed forces. The Soviet military doctrine has become defensive both in content and form. By its content it was defensive also before, but in form it envisages both defensive and offensive methods of action. In accordance with the new doctrine, the USSR started restructuring the armed forces to lend a defensive character to their structure. As was stated during his Washington visit by Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the USSR Sergey Akhromeyev, such perestroyka would take a certain period of time. But the main thing is that this work is underway.

In the process of changing over to a really defensive strategy, the Soviet military-political leadership also drew the conclusion that the earlier methods of training Soviet troops had given rise to anxiety, particularly in European countries. This fact is now being taken into account in the combat training of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Innovatory is the conclusion made by the 19th all-union party conference on the need for ensuring efficient defence, part of it being the development of the armed forces, predominantly qualitatively. Such quality building directives, as was most definitely underlined recently by the USSR's Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, are not aimed at building up the combat might, but maintaining it at a level that would rule out supremacy over us and guarantee reliable protection of the USSR and its allies. Moreover, with regard to armaments and material this means that troops and fleets will get them in lesser quantities, but their combat efficiency and quality should be higher.

And, the last. The Soviet military-political leadership repeatedly stated that reduction of tension and complete realisation of the Soviet defensive doctrine are possible only bilaterally. The combat might of the Soviet Armed Forces should be maintained at a level up to the principle of defensive sufficiency, proportioned to the threat of aggression. The USSR is doing nothing in the area of development and production of armaments above what is necessary for defence. Defensive sufficiency limits are regulated not by us, but by the U.S. and NATO actions. Therefore it is necessary to start without delay negotiating and coming to terms.

General John Galvin undoubtedly knows all that. Then what is the aim of his statements which undermine confidence in the Soviet Union's new policy in the military sphere? The answer to that question is to be found in the same speech by the NATO representative: He is trying thereby "to substantiate" the thesis that the North Atlantic alliance allegedly has no ground for changing its flexible reaction strategy, including the possible use of nuclear weapons. Calling in question the new elements in the Soviet policy, the general advocates that there should be no perestroyka in NATO. Does such an approach take into account the mutual interests of security of both sides? I think that any sober-minded person will reply in the negative to that question.

More on Gerasimov Remarks on Nevada Tests

LD1808122088 Moscow TASS in English 1129 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—The USSR views the Soviet-U.S. experiment to monitor explosions as a real, although small, step towards solving such a complex disarmament problem as the prohibition of nuclear explosions, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told a news briefing today.

He reminded that the first of two nuclear explosions was conducted at the Nevada test site on Wednesday in accordance with the intergovernmental agreement on holding the joint experiment. The second explosion will take place at a site in Semipalatinsk, Kazakhstan, in mid-September.

Measuring the yield of the two explosions on the basis of reciprocity with the use of both teleseismic and hydrodynamic methods, the Soviet spokesman continued, will enable to find out which of the upgraded methods of monitoring should be used to verify compliance with the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

He noted that the treaty, along with the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty, was not in force because the U.S. Administration found monitoring measures inadequate.

"Coordination of the improved methods to monitor these 'threshold' treaties," Gerasimov stressed, "represents only the first step at the Soviet-U.S. nuclear testing talks. The mandate of these full-scale talks also provides for the sides to coordinate intermediate limitations on nuclear tests on the way towards the final goal—their complete prohibition."

UN General Assembly Allocates Cease-Fire Funds

LD1808132488 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] New York August 18 TASS—The 42nd session of the U.N. General Assembly which specially resumed its work to examine the question on financial maintenance of the U.N. Military Observer Group in Iran and Iraq, adopted a decision to allocate adequate funds for these purposes.

In compliance with a resolution adopted on Wednesday without voting, it is planned to allocate 35.7 million dollars for the first three-month period to conduct a U.N. peace-keeping operation which will start on August 20. It will be an important move in settling the Iran-Iraq conflict. According to the table of contributions established at the U.N., the bulk of the sum (over 20 million dollars) is to be contributed by the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council.

Thus, a firm basis was established for normal functioning of the military observer group in Iran and Iraq, said U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. This step will consolidate even more the process of achieving a lasting peace between Iran and Iraq, he pointed out.

It is planned to discuss at the coming 43rd U.N. General Assembly the question on financing further the observer group numbering 350, which includes representatives from 24 countries. In the opinion of the U.N. Secretariat, some 75 million dollars will be needed for the planned six-month period of operation of the group and auxiliary technical personnel.

It is estimated that another 615 servicemen in blue helmets with the U.N. emblem will assist U.N. observers. They will include military police, communications troops and crews of helicopters and patrol speed boats. Now two headquarters of the observer group are being set up in Baghdad and Tehran, as well as observation points in the contact zone of troops of the conflicting sides. Appropriate technical means are being shipped to the two countries.

EEC Welcomes CEMA Readiness for Ties

LD1708124988 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 17 Aug 88

[Text] Brussels August 17 TASS—The European Economic Community has welcomed the recent official statements by five socialist CMEA member countries on their readiness to establish direct diplomatic relations with the EEC, and given a positive reply.

"The Commission of the European Communities has sent the above-mentioned countries written messages, containing favourable replies to the proposals that diplomatic relations be established," said here last Tuesday an official spokesman for the Commission of the European Communities, the EEC's executive body. These messages were handed over a few days ago to the embassies of the Soviet Union, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Hungary in Belgium.

According to the spokesman, the Commission of the European Communities expects notification from these CMEA member countries on the appointment of their ambassadors—permanent representatives at the EEC and requests of their official accreditation in Brussels in the near future.

The Government of the Polish People's Republic has recently expressed readiness to establish diplomatic relations with the EEC. A reply to the statement from the European communities is expected early in September.

The spokesman for the Commission of the European Communities pointed to the growing pace of development of political and economic CMEA-EEC relations, which followed the signing in Luxembourg on June 25 this year of the CMEA-EEC joint declaration on normalisation of their relations.

A major step in this direction was the decision of the Athens July session of the EEC Ministerial Council at the level of foreign ministers to hold negotiations with the Soviet Union on concluding a broad-scale agreement on cooperation in the political, trade-and-economic, scientific-technological and other areas.

The EEC and the Hungarian People's Republic have recently completed negotiations and signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation for a period of up to 1995. The EEC is now conducting trade negotiations with Romania. The EEC has struck contacts with governments of non-European CMEA member countries.

The spokesman for the Commission of the European Communities noted that the foundation had now been laid for progress in the relations between the European Economic Community and the CMEA member countries. He added that there were no obstacles to that.

Khristoradnov Receives Indian, Gabonese Groups

PM1808082!88 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Ties"]

[Text] On 11 August Yu.N. Khristoradnov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, received a delegation from the Society of Friends of the Soviet Union and Indian-Soviet Cultural Society, headed by Indian Minister of Civil Aviation and Tourism S. Patel.

N.V. Goldin, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy and president of the Soviet-Indian Friendship Society, participated in the conversation.

On the same day Yu.N. Khristoradnov met with a delegation from the Gabon Democratic Party, headed by M. Moapa-Beotse, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for foreign ties. It is in the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries.

Gabonese Ambassador to the USSR Emmanuel Mendoume-Nze participated in the conversation.

United States & Canada

Republicans Try To Defuse Quayle 'Scandal'

LD1908091388 Moscow TASS in English 0842 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] New Orleans August 19 TASS—By TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Oleg Polyakovskiy:

The Republican National Convention ended its work on Thursday here. The programme speech by presidential nominee George Bush was the highlight of the fourth, and last, day of the convention.

If elected president in November, Bush pledged to create new jobs, combat environmental pollution and corruption, and help the poor and the homeless.

The incumbent vice president assured the convention that under no circumstances would he raise taxes, that he would combat crimes and care for the prosperity of American families.

Among his top priority tasks in foreign affairs Bush mentioned cuts in the strategic nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union, reduction in the level of military confrontation in Europe, and bans on chemical and biological weapons, pledging at the same time to preserve the U.S. military might.

Bush said he would continue the "Star Wars" programme and that "peace through strength" would underlie his policies.

Observers describe Bush's speech as a model oratory and say it greatly impressed listeners and television viewers. Many of them say Bush surpassed himself on that day.

However, the last day of the convention was clouded by controversy surrounding vice presidential nominee Dan Quayle.

The U.S. press accused the senator, an advocate of U.S. military buildup and staunch anti-communist who lauded many times the U.S. war in Vietnam, of dodging the draft to avoid being sent to Vietnam.

In 1969, Quayle used his father's connections to join the National Guard which helped him avoid fighting in the Vietnam war.

Attempts by Republicans to defuse the scandal, highlighted by the press, have so far brought no success.

Some experts even say that Bush should pick another running mate. However, Bush says he has made the right choice.

Quayle, Republican Platform Discussed

PM1808111988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Vitaliy Gan "Correspondent Comment": "With Four Right Legs"]

[Text] ...The music blared out. The masqueraders walked around entertaining others and themselves at the same time. The New Orleans superdome was a stage for human vanity. Only a handful of people were listening to the speakers, and then only with half an ear. Delegates huddled together in little groups in the aisles, more interested in passing the time of day than in the speeches from the platform.

It all resembled not just a major theatrical spectacle but a circus with interludes and encores. Looking out from the press seats onto the heaving sea of hats with red, white, and blue bows, one could not help wondering: Is this the way to decide the country's destiny? Is this the Americans' idea of "democracy in action," where the desire to astound the public completely blots out concern for its interests?...

Within 5 minutes of the 2d day of the Republican Party Convention in New Orleans, George Bush, the Republicans' official candidate for the Presidency, named as his running mate, the vice-presidential candidate, Senator Dan Quayle, who represents the state of Indiana in the upper house of Congress. It was a real sensation because Quayle had scarcely been mentioned as a possibility. He is practically unknown to the country at large, although Quayle's name has cropped up fairly frequently of late in Washington political circles. He is young, 41, and ambitious, which is to a large extent ascribable to big money. Quayle's fortune is put at approximately $800 million, some inherited and some he "made" himself.

All the signs are that Quayle belongs to the radical right wing, those who paved the way to the White House for President Reagan. Although representing one of the states in the so-called "farm belt," he is particularly interested in foreign policy, which, in his view, should be a means of subordinating the whole world to U.S. interests. The senator was one of the initiators in the coalition of legislators who tried to sabotage the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Although in the end he voted for its ratification, Quayle has not changed his position. The Soviet Union must be "squeezed" as much as possible—that is his political credo. It is quite likely that he is modifying his views now, but until recently he regarded the relaxation of tension as a profanity. Quayle, naturally, is a fervent advocate of the speediest deployment of the SDI system and of the further buildup of the NATO bloc's offensive potential.

The "fathers" of American right-wing radicalism applauded the news. But from a purely practical viewpoint, the choice of Quayle could be risky for Bush.

The convention adopted an election platform which journalists immediately christened a "platform with four right legs." "Reaganomics" is called miraculous, although it has doomed millions of Americans to a deteriorating living standard. It will be pursued—this is the promise, despite the fact that in the past 8 years the United States has turned from a creditor country into a debtor country . Apart from fine words, no recipes are proposed. Calling America, without undue modesty, the "last and finest hope for the people of the world," the authors of the document name "strength, realism, and dialogue" as the pillars on which U.S. diplomacy must be built. The platform essentially calls for global interventionism, for the restructuring of the world in accordance with U.S. aspirations. It is claimed that it was the strength accumulated over the years of the Reagan administration that made possible the achievement of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The goodwill of the USSR, the flexibility it displayed, and the principle of taking mutual problems and interests into account are ignored.

By swearing loyalty to the SDI program and the speediest deployment of space strike weapon systems, the Republican program rules out any possibility of its being reviewed or canceled. Against this background the declared intention to seek an agreement with the USSR on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms has an obvious air of uncertainty. Certainly the projected program of collaboration with the Soviet Union on problems of curbing the arms race and normalizing relations is extensive. But alas, it is not reinforced with common sense, with a desire to evaluate one's own potential and existing realities in the new way, in the spirit of the times. It is said that one needs to put forward a platform, but needs not carry it out. The political history of the United States shows that this has often been the case. But it is also a fact that the philosophical spirit, the very mood of the party, plays a big part. In our time of nuclear danger, a lack of political will for mutually acceptable compromises is a dangerous factor.

In America today one can clearly sense changes in people's mood. The Republican Convention in New Orleans is scarcely aware of them—or so it appears from where the press is sitting. But it is too early to sign off. Bush has yet to speak.

Rogachev Receives U.S. Congressman Solarz
LD1808142388 Moscow TASS in English 1356 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister of the USSR Igor Rogachev today received chairman of the U.S. congressional subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs Stephen Solarz who is now in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the parliamentary group of the USSR.

"The meeting with the U.S. congressman has demonstrated that the two sides are interested in the development of the USSR-USA dialogue on problems of the Asian-Pacific region", said Igor Rogachev to a TASS diplomatic corespondent.

In discussing the Kampuchean issue, the Soviet side expressed full support for the results of the Bogor informal meeting which discussed ways of settlement of the situation around Kampuchea. Also discussed were the possibilities of the USSR and the USA in promoting relaxation of tension in the Korean peninsula.

Stephen Solarz was told about the Soviet approach to the question of attaining military detente in the region, which is primarily limitation of dimensions of naval exercises and manouevres in the Pacific and Indian Oceans and also reduction of activity of Soviet and American Navies in the Asian-Pacific region.

U.S. Hindering Departure of Armenians
PM1808135688 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 7 Aug 88 p 15

[Natalya Gevorkyan report: "America Calls Them 'Refugees'"—final paragraph is editorial postscript]

[Text] Some time ago, you could see for several days at a stretch a large group—some 200 people, including children—of Armenians standing in front of the US Embassy, looking tired and harassed.

According to what the few who agreed to talk with me said, this was the situation.

All these people have passports with exit visas, which the Soviet authorities issued them a month ago. They were supposed to be going to relatives in the USA for "family reunions". The US Embassy notified all passport owners in Armenia that before July 5 they had to be in Moscow where they would be given visas and air tickets to the USA. The people emptied their flats, sold everything they couldn't or wouldn't wish to take with them and came to Moscow. But in Moscow they learned that they wouldn't be able to leave for the USA before October 1, since the US authorities "lack the money to finance their travel".

"But what money do they mean?" the people I talked with asked me. "Our relatives in the USA are prepared to pay all the expenses! And we could have bought the tickets ourselves. What are we to do now? We can't go back, and we've no place in Moscow. Our baggage is in the airport cloakroom in Sheremteyevo, and if it stays there for two months, each one of us will have to pay about a thousand roubles for it."

At first glance, the situation is a strange one. But it is explained in one single word—"refugees". The US authorities today classify many of the people who are leaving the USSR precisely as "refugees", despite the

fact that each has "family reunion" as the motive for departure and, therefore, has relatives living abroad, who are prepared to pay for transport and take care of them in the USA. If they are called "refugees", then it's for only one reason—in order to use them in a dirty political game. "Refugees"—who hasn't heard that name? "Vietnamese refugees!" "Afghan refugees!" And now-Soviet refugees, i.e., people fleeing the USSR—help them!

But here the political propaganda games come into conflict with financial-bureaucratic games. At the Administration for Cultural and Humanitarian Relations of the USSR Ministry for Foreign Affairs, I was told:

"According to US law, those classified as 'refugees' are to be issued financial aid. This includes the fare to the USA and a sum for getting settled. The means available for the 'refugees', just like their number, are regulated by quotas, including budgetary quotas. The quotas for this year have already been reached in the USA. That's why the US Embassy refuses to pay the fares till October 1 to those about whom you're speaking."

"Is this kind of change of motivation for leaving, done unilaterally by the US side, legal?"

"According to international law, refugees are people who are either being persecuted or are in danger of being persecuted. There was nothing of the kind in this case. The people we are speaking about asked for exit visas to the USA for family reunions. The arbitrary change by the US side of motives for departure is in obvious contradiction to the Helsinki Final Act, where these questions are explained with adequate clarity."

An accurate qualification, especially if we take into account that, today, people from Armenia alone have been issued 2,000 passports with exit visas, and all the Armenians who are waiting for US visas have official invitations from their relatives in the USA, plus offers to foot the bill for all expenditures, including housing. These invitations carry the stamp of the US State Department.

As our MOSCOW NEWS correspondent was informed at the US Embassy, some 400 people whom the Americans had summoned to Moscow for the beginning of July have received their entry visas to the States, though a month later than scheduled. We cannot rule out that the Americans are calling all those waiting in front of the embassy "refugees". So, the number of "refugees" has been reduced from 3,400 to 3,000. The departure dates for the remaining 3,000 have not been specified and the reasons for limiting entry to the USA remain unchanged.

U.S., Soviet Scientists To Conduct Lake Study

LD1808211188 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Irkutsk August 18 TASS—Biochemical exploration of Lake Baykal is one of the first projects of the Soviet-American programme mission to planet earth. This week the first team of American scientists will start work on Lake Baykal together with the Soviet colleagues. The programme adopted last year provides for joint projects in the field of natural and social sciences. The sponsors of the "mission" are the Soviet Cultural Foundation and the American Soros Foundation. It will be organised with the participation of the space research institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the American organisation "Earthwatch".

We are glad to have an opportunity to explore Lake Baykal in detail, a TASS correspondent was told by Dr. Kenneth H. Nealson, superviser of the experiment, a researcher of the centre for the exploration of Great Lakes which are nearly 10,000 years old seem to be little babies as compared with the Baykal, whose "age" is 25 million years.

Lake Baykal lies in the southern part of east Siberia and covers an area of 31,500 square kilometres. Its average depth is 730 m, i.e. it is three and a half times as deep as the Great Lakes. Lake Baykal accounts for 20 per cent of the world's fresh water resources and for nearly 80 per cent of the USSR's fresh water resources.

The problem of preserving the good health of Lake Baykal has been broadly studied by Soviet public for several years. The point is that the big pulp and paper works built on the bank of the lake has dumped into it industrial wastes which were not sufficiently purified. The drive for more democracy and restructuring, which unfolded in the Soviet society after 1985, helps towards adopting a number of important nature protection measures, including the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "on the measures to ensure the security and rational use of the natural resources of Lake Baykal basin in 1987-1995."

Quite a lot has already been done to protect the unique lake. Work is underway at the Baykal pulp and paper works to transfer it to furniture assembly. New purification installations are commissioned.

The main targets of research by American scientists on the Baykal Lake will be phyto and zooplankton, tiny algae and crawfish. According to Dr. Kenneth Nealson they form an amazingly perfect purification system of the lake waters, which proceses organic compounds getting into the waters of the lake. The study of interaction of phytoplankton with the manganese and iron contained in water will give an insight into that natural system.

Incident at Nuclear Plant in South Carolina

LD1908030788 Moscow TASS in English 2302 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Washington August 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko:

A nuclear reactor in Savannah River plant, South Carolina, ran out of control briefly, the newspaper WASHINGTON POST quoted the U.S. Energy Department and other usually well informed sources as saying.

The newspaper quotes a spokesman for the Energy Department as saying that in a startup of the P reactor, there was an abrupt and unexpected increase in temperature and pressure. The spokesman for the Savannah River plant confirmed that one power spike in the reactor took place in the startup on August 7-8. Yet, as the newspaper WASHINGTON POST notes, according to reports from other sources, there were several power spikes. At present the reactor has been shut down.

"The incident alarmed safety officials, largely because Savannah River operators continued to run the reactor during the spikes and even increased power, although the reactor had behaved unpredictably in earlier stages of the startup", THE WASHINGTON POST said. "One official called the episode a 'complete collapse' of safety procedures that, in other circumstances, could have resulted in a disaster the magnitude of the 1986 nuclear accident in Chernobyl."

"They were pulling control rods to get the reaction up and they didn't have any idea what was going on", said the official who declined to be named. "If the reactor had been running at higher power, it could have been a tragedy." The nuclear P reactor was shut down in April this year for maintenance and modifications in the safety systems. The problems cropped up at the beginning of the startup procedure since specialists had failed to calculate accurately the amount of decay products, primarily helium-3, which accumulated in the reactor while it was shut down. In the startup helium-3 absorbed neutrons and slowed the reaction. Yet the operators did not know what precisely prevented the reaction and, in order to accelerate it, they began pulling out control rods from the reactor. In each pulling of the control rods, reaction briefly accelerated and then again slowed down. The decay products were acting as an internal brake. "But they did not know that", the newspaper quotes Ernest Baynard, assistant energy secretary for environment and safety. "That's what concerns me. You can't have people operating a nuclear reactor, acting like it's business as usual, when something of an unusual nature is happening." In essence, the reactor was out of the control of the operators who had no way of predicting how high the power would surge when additional control rods were pulled out or whether it would continue to subside. In an investigation, experts also found out a mechanical failure that resulted in the inadvertent partial pulling of a control rod from the reactor.

China

Zhao Ziyang Cited on Summit Prospects

LD1808104388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] CPC Central Committee General Zhao Ziyang gave an interview to the Japanese news agency KYODO. The CPC Central Committee general secretary linked prospects for a Chinese-Soviet summit with the resolution of the Cambodian problem. The necessary condition for conducting a meeting, he said, is the full withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia. Zhao Ziyang wished success to the forthcoming working meeting between the Soviet and Chinese deputy foreign ministers on problems related to a Cambodian settlement.

Touching on the PRC's internal situation, the general secretary stressed that the coming 5 years will be a most important historical period of transition from the old to a new economic system. The reform of the economic system should be carried out in coordination with the restructuring of the political system outlined at the 13th CPC Congress.

Dealing with the question of Taiwan, Zhao Ziyang expressed hope for the further expansion of contacts between both shores of the Strait of Taiwan, which, in his words, will bring closer the prospect for the unification of China.

XINHUA Cited on Lessons of War for Japan

PM1808115488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Not To Forget the Tragic Lessons"]

[Text] Beijing, 17 Aug—In a commentary devoted to the 43d anniversary of the surrender of militarist Japan in World War II, XINHUA stresses that the ruling circles of that country "should not forget the tragic lessons of history and embark on a path of military adventurism."

The agency draws attention to the atmosphere in which events devoted to the anniversary were held in Japan. It notes that it has become traditional for members of the Japanese Government to "make a pilgrimage" to the militarist temple of Yasukuni, where there are memorial plaques to Japanese war criminals.

Nor can one fail to observe that today certain circles try to portray Japan in the eyes of the public, especially the young generation, as a "victim of war." Thus schoolbooks published by the Ministry of Education often keep quiet about historical facts testifying to the cruelty and bloody crimes of the militarists, while the act of aggression itself is depicted as an ordinary "deployment of forces."

Japan has recently considerably increased its already large expenditure on arms. These actions cannot but cause justified alarm in many states in the Asian and Pacific region.

In conclusion XINHUA stresses that only concrete steps toward peace throughout the world will enable Japan to win the trust of the countries and peoples that suffered as a result of aggression.

Taiwan Issue in U.S.-PRC Affairs Viewed

OW1808101088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 16 Aug 88

[Station observer (Versanskiy) commentary]

[Text] On 17 August 1982, China and the United States signed a joint communique on the Taiwan issue. Since that time 6 years have elapsed. This document has sometimes been called the Second Shanghai Communique. As we all know, over the past few years Sino-U.S. relations have, generally speaking, developed well. However, because the Taiwan issue remained unsolved, the mood and political atmosphere in Sino-U.S. relations have more than once been clouded. China has at times been forced to talk with the U.S. side on U.S. violations of its commitments and to strongly protest U.S. interference in the Chinese people's internal affairs and infringement on Chinese sovereignty. In this connection our station observer (Versanskiy) writes: As long as Washington insists on the U.S.-Taiwan special relations affirmed in the so-called new U.S.-Taiwan Relations Act approved by the U.S. Congress in 1979, the contradictions between China and the United States will continue.

(Versanskiy) points out: The military protection given to the Taipei regime by the United States is probably the biggest thorn in the flesh of Sino-U.S. relations. Because of China's insistence, in 1982 the United States promised to reduce arms sales to Taiwan. Later, the United States stated that beginning from a specified time in fiscal 1983 weapons to be sold to Taiwan would be reduced by $20 million per year. However, both sides still interpret key clauses in the 17 August communique differently. The United States maintains that there should be no limit to the transfer of technology to Taiwan, while China insists on unconditionally setting a limit to this kind of transfer. The crux of the question is that the United States has found a loophole which makes it possible for the United States to actually modernize the Taipei regime's Armed Forces.

(Versanskiy) says: Currently Taiwan, with U.S. assistance, is engaged in four large military construction projects worth billions of U.S. dollars. One of them concerns the Navy's modernization. Taiwan plans to replace its outdated fleets with 12 new warships modeled on U.S. missile-carrying convoy ships. These convoy ships are being built in Taiwan. It is believed that on the question of design and construction, the United States is extending technical assistance.

(Versanskiy) adds: Taiwan's Air Force is also preparing for modernization. It will mainly manufacture new supersonic, air-defensive fighter planes. Three U.S. corporations will supply Taiwan with technical assistance. Taiwan's Army is also ready to be reequipped by having old tanks replaced with new-type ones. Over 300 new-type tanks are currently in active service. U.S. corporations have guided Taiwan in modernizing its tank units. Taiwan also intends to have surface-to-air missiles and related control systems. The U.S. Lockheed Corporation has signed a contract, worth $40 million, with the Taipei regime to meet the latter's needs.

(Versanskiy) asserts: The United States is pursuing every means to provide military support to the Taipei regime. This violates the joint communique. The support given by the United States is still the major reason why the Taipei regime refuses to accept China's proposal for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan issue.

Returned Seamen Claim Maltreatment in Taiwan

LD1808170588 Moscow TASS in English 1619 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—"It's hard to believe we are at home at last." Three men of advanced age, grey-haired with worry and grief could not help sobbing. They were particularly conspicous due to their old-fashioned clothes, constrained manners among the crowds of Moscow Sheremetyevo-2 Airport. Those three men were Vladimir Sablin, Boris Pisanov and Vladimir Kniga, crew members of the Soviet tanker ship Tuapse, who returned in the Soviet Union after spending 34 years in a Taiwan prison.

They all look like human beings from the times long gone. Indeed, the normal course of their lives was stopped on July 23, 1954. They will remember that day for the rest of their lives.

The tanker ship Tuapse was under way from Constanta to the shores of the PRC with a cargo of lighting kereosene. On high seas south of Taiwan Island two naval ships approached them with their guns and machine-guns trained on the Soviet tanker and demanded that she immediately stop. Then machine-guns rattled away and guns thundered. A Chiang Kai-shek landing squad went on board the Soviet ship and took her to a port in Taiwan. When in the island the crew were disunited, put into concentration camps, tortured and humiliated in an attempt to break the will of the Soviet people and pursuade them to betray their country.

The Soviet Government was taking vigorous measures for the release of the crew of Tuapse. The Red Cross Society made efforts with that aim through its channels. As a result of these efforts 29 seamen of the tanker were released in July 1955. Another five seamen could return home in 1956. But a part of the crew were forcibly detained in Taiwan.

What the Soviet seamen had to go through during that time can be epitomized only in word—horror. Solitary cells and tortures, when they were made to look for days at hot white electric bulbs, wild dances of the prison guards on prostrate bodies of the prisoners, whose feet and arm joints were squeezed tight.

Only today, on August 18, 34 years later, Vladimir Sablin, Boris Pisanov and Vladimir Kniga could set foot on the native soil. The long way of the three Soviet seamen towards fredom, towards their native land is over at last.

Interviewed on Imprisonment

LD1808173888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Viktor Konnov, our corresponden: in Singapore, has met with three Soviet seamen who spent 34 years in captivity in Taiwan and are now returning to their homeland.

[Begin recording] [Konnov] The feature film "Emergency" ["Chrezvychaynoye Proisshestviye"] is probably still fresh in the memory of many. It dealt with the seizure of a Soviet tanker by the Kuomintang authorities of Taiwan. [video shows the sea, then cuts to the three seamen in a reception hall]

These three elderly men have not seen the film. The incident with the "Tuapse" tanker in 1954 was a terrible reality for them, the personal tragedy which tore them away from their homeland for 34 long years. Finally, we have been able to meet and talk with the Soviet seamen who were taken prisoner 34 years ago and who spent all those years in Taiwan in detention. [video shows Konnov speaking to a bearded man in the middle] Could you tell us how it all started? And also a bit about your years in Taiwan.

[B.A. Pisanov, identified by caption] In 1954, in the early hours of the 23d, at 0300 the vessel was stopped. After that, a military vessel seized our "Tuapse" and....

[Konnov, interrupting] And they took you to the port of Kaohsiung?

[Pisanov] After detaining us for about 2 days, they towed us to the port of Kaohsiung. After Kaohsiung, we were taken off the vessel by force, split into groups and jailed. As to the rest of it, the hard life on the island started then and lasted till now. It would be impossible to put everything that has happened into words, because—and that is clear to everybody—it is very difficult to explain in a few words what it means to spend 34 years in [word indistinct] detention.

[V.I. Kniga, identified by caption] It is very difficult for me to say everything and speak of the terrible anguish of these years, deprived of human rights and human life for 34 years. There are no [words to describe] my joy and happiness at returning to my homeland, my native land, family, and friends. I am very thankful to the Soviet Government which has done everything in order to bring us home, to our homeland. Thank you very much.

[V.N. Sablin, identified by caption] Since July 1954 when I was taken off ship, I ceased to be a human being. I was reduced to an animal state, that was what it was. That was very hard. Now, 34 years later, the Chinese Government has let us go home.

[Konnov] You mean the Taiwan Government.

[Sablin] Yes, of Taiwan; they have let us go home. About our own government, I do not know. I have been listening to the radio and have not heard anything about it.

[Konnov] Tell us, during those 34 years, was there any link with your homeland? Was there any possibility of listening to the radio, of getting any messages from your families?

[Sablin] Yes, it was possible to listen to the radio, but as for the rest.... [video shows him making a sweeping gesture of negation with his hand]

[Pisanov] From the mid-sixties on, we were allowed to listen to the radio, following the visit by General Jan. He allowed us to buy them and listen. Only from then on, could we listen to the radio. As for myself, I listened to it all the time, never parting with my radio day or night. I listened to all kinds of news bulletins, but mainly to Radio Moscow which broadcasts news bulletins every 30 minutes. That is why I know everything about the motherland, what is going on now and what has been going on.

[Sablin] In 1960, we had a radio and listened to everything on the radio about the motherland, but there was not a single message sent from home or to home; that is how it was.

[Kniga] Beginning in 1960, we were allowed to listen to the radio. We kept listening to the radio, and we knew about home and the motherland. But no messages, newspapers, magazines, packages. Absolutely nothing arrived from the motherland, from home. And (?whenever we asked) why [we were told] that there were no [diplomatic] relations at the moment. I know what is going on more or less, but all these years there was nothing but radio.

[Konnov] And you heard nothing about yourselves?

[Kniga] We heard absolutely nothing concerning ourselves. Thank you. That is a (?big issue). [video cuts to show a view of Singapore harbor]

[Konnov] A short stopover in Singapore on their way home. Their first meeting with officials at the Soviet Embassy, the Consulate. [video shows seamen talking to unidentified embassy officials]

These people really must have been through a lot, because at first they did not even believe that they had some Soviets in front of them; they asked them to show their passports. Only after making sure that it was not yet another provocation but the end of their long plight far from home were they able to calm down a bit and talk about themselves, about the emergency that lasted half a lifetime. [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

Reportage on Reaction to Ziaul Haq Death

Presidium Sends Condolences

LD1808151088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Presidium has sent deep condolences to Ghulam Ishaq Khan, Pakistan's acting president, in connection with the death in an air crash of President Ziaul Haq and those who were accompanying him.

Astrauskas Heads Funeral Party

LD1908081288 Moscow TASS in English 0803 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A Soviet delegation led by Vytautas Astrauskas, deputy president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Lithuania, leaves for Islamabad today to attend the funeral of President Mohammad Ziaul Haq who died in a plane crash.

The USSR delegation includes Viktor Komplektov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, who leaves Moscow together with Vytautas Astrauskas. Andrey Filakovskiy, head of the South-East Asian Department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, will come to Islamabad from New Delhi.

Delegation Leaves for Islamabad

LD1908132488 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—A Soviet delegation, led by Vice President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Vytautas Astrauskas, left Moscow by air for Islamabad today to attend the funeral of President of Pakistan Ziaul Haq.

Gerasimov Denies Afghan Role

LD1808143588 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1352 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Excerpts] Britain today welcomed the news that Pakistan is to go ahead with parliamentary elections in the wake of President Ziaul Haq's death in a mid-air explosion yesterday. The elections, on November 16, were the first step towards the establishment of democracy, said Foreign Office Minister Mrs Lynda Chalker. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, Pakistan's ambassador to Britain, Mr Shaharyar Khan, said it could take some time to establish the cause of the plane explosion. Sabotage by internal dissidents or foreigners had not been ruled out. "Enemies of a person and of a state are there everywhere in every country," he said on the same programme.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, Mr Gennadiy Gerasimov, urged the new Pakistani leader to abide by the Geneva agreement and stop its military assistance to the mujahidin guerrillas in Afghanistan. And he dismissed as a "conspiracy theory" the suggestion that President Ziaul Haq might have been assassinated by the Soviet-backed Afghan secret service. [passage omitted]

Paper Views Islamabad Situation

PM1808152788 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[From A. Makhov roundup under the general heading: "Death of Pakistani President: Causes Under Investigation": "Islamabad on the Line"]

[Text] The editorial office contacted TASS correspondent in Pakistan Yuriy Denisov:

[Denisov] "The situation in the country is on the whole quiet. The military patrols which are found every 100-200 meters along the capital's main road, at all intersections, and outside state institutions and the U.S. Embassy are reminders of the state of emergency that has been declared."

[Makhov] "Are any details of the cause of the air crash known?"

[Denisov] "The causes are being investigated by the official commission that has been set up. But the media have been presenting many hypotheses. The vast majority agrees that it was sabotage. The personnel who maintain the presidential aircraft have been arrested. Everyone says that the C-130 took off from the very well-guarded Bahawalpur Air Force Base, which has been practically impenetrable as far as civilians are concerned. So the sabotage could only have been carried out by the military. Local papers note that General

Mirza Aslam Beg, who was appointed chief of staff of the ground forces immediately after the president's death, was to have flown on the same aircraft but was detained for some reason."

[Makhov] "We have received a report that the aircraft may have been brought down by a Stinger missile."

[Denisov] "That possibility is being ruled out here. The explosion was too powerful. There weren't even any large pieces of the aircraft left. It wouldn't have disintegrated that way if it was hit by a missile."

[Makhov] "How have different circles in the country taken the announcement of the president's death?"

[Denisov] "The opposition political parties have expressed regret over the death of the head of state. Opposition spokesmen have been constantly stressing that they were not struggling against Ziaul Haq personally but rather against the political regime he had set up. Literally a few hours before the calamity, Benazir Bhutto (daughter of the country's former prime minister, who was executed by Ziaul Haq), who is chairman of the opposition People's Party, sent to Pakistan's Supreme Court a demand that all the country's political parties be permitted to participate in the general election set for 16 November. The point is that the day before he died, Ziaul Haq stated that the parties would not be participating in the election campaign. But now, the opposition believes, favorable conditions have been created for elections on a party basis."

In an interview with journalists, Benazir Bhutto has just expressed confidence that democratic changes will be accelerated in the country. The opposition, she said, is prepared to participate in these processes, which must fully accord with the Constitution and contribute to strengthening stability. In response to this, a leading Pakistani commentator said: "It is now either Benazir Bhutto as prime minister or martial law. There is no other way."

Aftermath of Crash Viewed

LD1808130988 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Pakistan, a Muslim country with a population of 100 million, is in mourning. Its president, Ziaul Haq, had died in a plane disaster. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, chairman of the Senate of the Pakistani Parliament, is now acting president. He has called a state emergency in the country.

An investigation is under way into the causes of the plane catastrophe. Some believe the plane in which Ziaul Haq was flying collided with a helicopter. Others speak about a bomb on the plane, while still others talk about it being shot down by a missile. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Yuriy Soltan writes:

But people are not only talking about the causes of the tragedy. Many are wondering what will happen to the country now—will there be change in its domestic and foreign policies?

Ziaul Haq came to power in 1977 as the result of a military coup. He crushed the opposition and actually introduced dictatorial rule. Pakistan became the United States' major military ally in western Asia. Washington put billions of dollars into arming Pakistan. In the years Ziaul Haq was in power, Pakistani-Indian relations aggravated. Sikh separatists subversive activities in Punjab and India, were directed from Pakistani territory.

Pakistan also played quite an improper role in the events in Afghanistan. The so-called irreconcilable leaders of the Afghan opposition found shelter in Peshawar. There are more than 100 military centers in the provinces bordering Afghanistan. The Afghan rebels are trained there with the help of Pakistani officers and foreign military advisers. Afghan armed opposition groups continue to be sent into Afghanistan, though the Geneva agreements have already been in effect for 3 months. Under them, Islamabad pledged not to interfere in the neighboring country's internal affairs. Such a destructive stand has been denounced not only in the world but in Pakistan itself. As for Washington, it has been actually encouraging Pakistan.

Ziaul Haq's death has very much worried Washington leaders. Wouldn't the positions of the Afghan extremists be weakened? Wouldn't their terrorist activities start declining? And wouldn't Pakistan, in general, move away from excessive dependence on the United States?

Voice of America says that Secretary of State George Shultz described the Ziaul Haq's death as a big loss to both the people of Pakistan and to the movement of Afghan guerrillas. Radio Canada, on its part, pointed out that the president's death caused political chaos in Pakistan and questioned the future of the Afghan resistance, whose bases are located on its territory.

Everyone, including the people of the Soviet Union, can of course only condole the death of a head of state. But like everyone else we are naturally concerned about what happens to our neighbors in the future.

Acting President Ghulam Ishaq Khan, in his first statement, stressed that there will be no changes in the country's foreign policy. Well, we'll have to wait and see how things turn out, because to my mind the final word is yet to be pronounced.

U.S. Teams To Help Probe Pakistan Air Disaster

LD1908051288 Moscow TASS in English 0504 GMT 19 Aug 88

["U.S. Sends Two Teams to Pakistan To Probe Air Disaster"—TASS headline]

[Text] Washington August 19 TASS—The U.S. Defense Department said a team of eight experts will arrive in Pakistan today to help investigate the cause of the crash

of the C-130 military plane, which killed President Ziaul Haq, U.S. Ambassador to Pakistan Arnold Raphel and 30 more people.

A Pentagon spokesman announced that another team of six forensic experts from the U.S. Armed Forces deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany was also sent to Pakistan. They would help Pakistani specialists to identify the bodies.

Konduz Situation Returning to 'Normal'
LD1908123288 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 19 TASS—The situation in the administrative centre of the Province of Konduz, in the north of Afghanistan, is gradually getting back to normal. The city has been fully cleared of the terrorists that remained there after the liberation, the BAKHTAR news agency reports. Big food reserves left by the insurgents were found near the city. The food is now being distributed among the population of Konduz. BAKHTAR reports as well that the Republic's awards were conferred on the soldiers who distinguished themselves in action during the restoration of government control over Konduz.

An armed unit of the opposition went over to the side of people's power in Sar-e Pol Province. Addressing a rally, its commander Narsullah Khan said on behalf of 200 members of the unit that they supported the national reconciliation policy and were ready to defend peaceful life of the population of the province.

Fighting took place Thursday in a number of Afghan regions between government troops and insurgent groups. Dozens of extremists were killed in the course of the operations staged by the Afghan troops in the provinces of Lowgar, Faryab, Ghazni, Badghis, Nangarhar and Kabul. Several arms depots and food storages were captured. 32 tons of wheat plundered from the population were found in the area of Chaprahar, Nangarhar Province.

According to reports reaching here, fierce clashes between the warring opposition groups took place in the provinces of Badakhshan and Laghman. By today 35 extremists, including the ringleader of one of the groups, were killed in Badakhshan. Muhammad Isma'il, head of the units of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan", as well as dozens of other insurgents were killed in an internicine clash. Fighting is going on.

TV on 'Lessons' of Konduz
LD1808214088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As for the lessons of Konduz, here is a report by our correspondent:

[M. Leshchinskiy, identified by caption] Konduz is the administrative center of the northern province of the same name, which lies on the border with the USSR. In the past, it did not know what war was like. A Soviet military formation had been quartered here for 8 years. After our soldiers left for home 2 weeks ago, major armed formations of the opposition stormed the town and seized it. That operation, which was thoroughly planned by the military bosses of the Pakistan-based opposition and undoubtedly directed by foreign military advisors, came as a wide-scale test of strength in the power struggle in Afghanistan. It has shown people again what are the true intentions and desires of the so-called freedom fighters. They only spent a few days here, but look what is left of a prosperous, peaceful town. [video shows rubble of a devastated shopping street, then a merchant in a Sikh turban]

This merchant's name is Ravinder Singh. His rich downtown shop has been reduced to a pile of rubble. He said that all shops, large or small, were plundered or destroyed in Konduz, and that many peaceful inhabitants were killed. One of his brothers died, too. The rebels used to say, the merchant explains, let the Russians leave, then there will be peace. Now the Russians have left, but they started killing and plundering.

The fighting for control of the town lasted almost a week. As a result, government soldiers, in street clashes and without the support of aircraft or heavy artillery, managed to deal a crushing defeat to 13 armed groups totaling about 1,300 men. The residents of Konduz, mourning their relatives, bereft of shelter and means of survival, have found in their own experience what the Peshawar seven have in store for the Afghan people. But there also remain questions for those who headed governmental and military units here. It is their carelessness, and sometimes their outright treachery, that led to the tragedy. The people were told about it openly by representatives of the Kabul authorities. All those guilty will face the courts.

Such a lesson was given at a crucial stage for Afghanistan as the struggle for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity in the country is still being waged. [video shows an Afghan soldier on guard on the roof of a partially destroyed building, Afghan military officers surveying the street, an official lecturing locals, and more shots of destruction]

Gen Serebrov Views Soviet Role in Afghanistan
LD1908090288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1515 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Interview with General L.B. Serebrov by Italian journalist Luigi Moncalvo in Afghanistan; date not given—recorded; from the 105-minute documentary "Farewell, Kabul" made in cooperation with NOVOSTI]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Moncalvo] This is an army returning home undefeated. It is simply an army returning home: soldiers and officers who have not been

defeated, who have not been smashed. They have not suffered defeat, they simply restricted themselves to controlling the situation and maintaining a balance in Afghanistan, without using chemical weapons or other kinds of weapons which might, of course, have enabled them to secure victory, although that would have meant reducing this country to ruins. [passage omitted] The Afghans are a proud people, a people whose women and children even know how to use weapons. These people have never been defeated; they have never been conquered. Even such masters of war as the British, who conquered the whole world and held the enormous nearby country of India, were defeated by the Afghans. No army is needed here, because everyone here knows how to fight. Traditional tactics and strategy are pointless when fighting these people; the logic of huge armies, the tactics suitable for the plains of Europe and the old plans drawn up by Soviet or U.S. generals lose all meaning here. Perhaps this explains why the Soviet Army is returning home without having won: because war here is waged without rules, for this is a country which knows only partisan methods of war. It would be a mistake to judge the Afghan war by the canons of West Point. [passage omitted]

Listen, General. It is difficult to resist drawing comparisons between Afghanistan and Vietnam. What's your view on this?

[Serebrov] Such comparisons are wrong. We do not consider our presence in Afghanistan to be a war. We did not set ourselves military objectives, and if an army doesn't set itself combat tasks then one cannot talk of victory or defeat. We can talk of a victory for common sense.

[Moncalvo] General, has this war been a waste of time?

[Serebrov] We have never considered our stay in Afghanistan to be war.

[Moncalvo] Well, if you don't consider it war, then how do you define your presence in Afghanistan?

[Serebrov] We've already described it—internationalist assistance.

[Moncalvo] But what does internationalist assistance actually mean?

[Serebrov] It means that we did not set ourselves purely military objectives. We came here as friends to assist the Afghan people.

[Moncalvo] But can people be assisted by tanks?

[Serebrov] This is a case in which our military presence alone has made it clear to those who would like to alter the situation in the country to their advantage that they will not succeed in doing so, that there are forces capable of stopping them.

[Moncalvo] General, you have been here since 1979, when Brezhnev ordered Soviet forces into Afghanistan. Three hypotheses have been put forward. I shall list them, and you tell me, if you can, which is correct. Three hypotheses: that it was essential to defend the Soviet Union's southern border; that your aim was to move closer to the Persian Gulf; that it was an inoculation against the Khomeyni epidemic, the influence of Islam.

[Serebrov] None of those hypotheses is correct. We came here to render internationalist assistance to the Afghan people at their request.

[Moncalvo] What are the results of your 8-year presence in Afghanistan? What are you taking home with you in your duffle bags?

[Serebrov] The results are very great. Ordinary Afghans have come to believe in our sincerity; they have seen that we came here with clean hands and an open heart. They have seen our assistance, both material and spiritual. We are now helping the Afghan people create cadres to further the cause of the revolution. We are doing everything we can to ensure that Soviet people and Soviet soldiers remain in the memories of the Afghans as friends and kind people.

[Moncalvo] General, will the Afghan Army alone be capable of handling the situation without your 115,000 soldiers, without your helicopters, without your tanks, and without your aircraft?

[Serebrov] We have done all we can do improve the Afghan Army's combat readiness and capacity. We have done a great deal in this respect, and it is now a different army from the one we found when we arrived here 8 years ago. You mentioned a figure—115,000 soldiers. I would like to state that that figure has never appeared in the Soviet press; we have never specified official figures, and that figure is unknown to me. I don't know where you got it.

[Moncalvo] On the gravestones of those who have died in Afghanistan there is no mention of the fact that they died in Afghanistan. They just read that these people died while performing their internationalist duty. Do you not think this is sanctimonious and hypocritical?

[Serebrov] Yes, I do. The Soviet press has already discussed this, and I think a correct and just decision will soon be made. The truth must be written as it really is.

[Moncalvo] [Passage omitted] Some might accuse us of not being objective enough, of being too sympathetic to the Soviet Army. But after all, it was they who ensured our safety for 2 weeks, and, of course, on more than one occasion they saved our lives.

Afghan Premier on 'Internal Reconciliation'
LD1808191288 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0715 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul, 18 Aug (TASS)—Under new conditions connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Republic of Afghanistan, the last pretext for continuing the war unleashed by the "intractable" opposition disappeared. Those who earlier called for jihad, a holy war, and who continue armed actions will bear indelible blame for the death of innocent compatriots, stated Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq.

As he spoke at Gol Khanah Palace in Kabul with TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik, the head of the Afghan Government said:

If Pakistan and the United States complied with the Geneva accords as scrupulously as Afghanistan and the Soviet Union do, the prospects for peace would have been reality in my land by now. The freedom-loving, proud, and courageous Afghan people, who are united by their national traditions and Islam, were for centuries united around their leaders and did not know fratricidal conflicts. The current developments which plunged Afghanistan into a civil war have been imposed on us from the outside.

One of the main trump cards used by the hostile propaganda to sow enmity and mistrust among Afghans is conjecture about a certain "Pashtunization" of power in Kabul, about the imminent "revenge" by Pashtuns against the inhabitants of the northern and central regions of Afghanistan. Although the Pashtuns are indeed the largest Afghan nationality, their "domination" of the administrative apparatus and the economy is completely out of the question. This would contradict the Constitution of the Republic of Afghanistan, which solemnly proclaims equal rights and opportunities for all nationalities and tribes populating our country. We officially declared that a man's ability rather than his ethnic background is the main factor for occupying any governmental post.

As for the economy, in Paktia and Paktika Provinces, for example, which are populated by Pashtuns, there are virtually no modern economic structures whatsoever. At the same time, we recently began a program for the high priority economic development of the north, which is populated mostly by Tadzhiks, Uzbeks, and Turkmens. Why? Because we are guided by national interests, not parochial ones, and because we proceed from the premise that the development of the naturally rich northern regions will help the whole country and all Afghans more effectively.

The economic situation in the Republic of Afghanistan remains grave, the prime minister continued. One should not forget that the years of war inflicted material damage to Afghanistan estimated at $10 billion, or a sum equal to that which was spent to develop its economy in the 4 prewar decades. Today we must spend 60 percent of our budget to meet the needs of defense. Nevertheless, many people are surprised that Kabul and other major cities feel no shortage of goods, that markets are full of imported goods.

For us, friendly assistance traditionally rendered to the Afghans by the Soviet Union plays an important role. This assistance is free of any political preconditions. The goods we would have had to buy on the world market with hard currency—machines, equipment, fertilizer, consumer goods, etc—are supplied by the USSR in exchange for traditional Afghan exports.

The duty-free transit of Afghan goods through the USSR has always been an important element of Soviet-Afghan economic ties. Because the Soviet Union has expressed its readiness to extend additional aid to us to restore our war-destroyed economy, we regard the future with optimism. First and foremost, it is a matter of cooperation in agriculture, irrigation, power engineering, transport, geology, the gas industry, and the training of cadres. Soviet cooperation with the Afghan private sector is also very promising.

I would attribute this economic phenomenon largely to the patriotism and courage of Afghan merchants. Aware that commercial capital is the mainstay of our economy, they often lead their caravans under extremely difficult conditions and risk their lives in territory controlled by the extremists to bring all necessary supplies to the market. In Afghanistan, the markets are the main "barometer" of political and economic "weather". Nowadays, the arm of this "barometer" does not point to "overcast". Many traders and entrepreneurs actively promote the realization of the policy of internal reconciliation. It is not for nothing that they are often referred to as the "merchants of peace."

The Afghans got tired of the war. They want to return to peaceful labor. The guarantee of the implementation of their wish is the policy of national reconciliation, which has no sensible alternative. A lot has been done to make this policy a reality. A new page of democracy and pluralism was opened in the history of Afghanistan. The adoption of the national Constitution and the law on political parties made it possible to create a multiparty system. There are currently six official parties in Afghanistan: the PDPA, the Toilers Organization of Afghanistan (TOA), the Toilers Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan (TROA), the Peasants Justice Party of Afghanistan (PJPA), the Islamic Party of the People of Afghanistan (IPPA), and the Solidarity Movement of Afghan People (Fada-e Yan).

All these parties, both the existing and newly registered ones, enjoy equal rights, including the right to nominate their members to the National Council.

The coalition principle stems from the multiparty principle. The former means that neither of the existing parties, including the PDPA, will have a monopoly on

power. The government cabinet, which I lead as prime minister, comprises representatives of different parties. Nearly half of its members belonged to opposition groups in the past. I am not a party member, but I do not feel any pressure on the part of the PDPA leadership.

I say this in reply to the assertions of certain Western mass media and opposition representatives who never tire of repeating that the Afghan Government is allegedly "deprived of independence" and that it "dances to the tune" of the PDPA. These are conjectures devoid of all foundation.

As the PDPA, all of us in government are united by one common goal—the return of peace to Afghan land. We are convinced that there are no problems in Afghanistan's internal political situation which cannot be solved at the negotiating table.

Najibullah Gives National Day Speech

LD1808203288 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 18 TASS—Lasting peace and national unity in Afghanistan can only be achieved through the policy of national reconciliation which meets the interests of the Afghan people, the president of the Republic of Afghanistan has said on the occasion of Independence Day and Army Day, Afghan national holidays marked August 19.

The Geneva agreements to which the leaderships of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan strictly and consistently adhere create all the conditions necessary for attaining this coveted goal of the Afghan people, President Najibullah said in the speech circulated here by the BAKHTAR agency.

Sixty-nine years ago, the president recalled, the people of Afghanistan gained independence after many years of struggle. All Afghan tribes and ethnic groups had united for the noble cause and dealt a crushing blow on their enemies who were trying to reverse the wheel of history.

This will also be the lot of those who oppose the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and of all those who would like to hurl the country back to the Middle Ages, he continued.

The victory of the Afghan people over the British colonialists opened up a new page in the country's history, said a statement issued by the alliance of the country's left democratic parties on the occasion of the national holiday.

The alliance has called on all the political forces both in and beyond Afghanistan to stop the bloodshed and find a peaceful solution to all contentious issues.

Paper Discusses Upcoming Lebanese Elections

PM1908101588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "Lebanon: Elections Scheduled, But..."]

[Text] On the eve of the presidential elections scheduled for 18 August, the situation in the Lebanese capital has been aggravated again.

In the southern regions of Beirut, news agencies report, hostilities have flared up between armed formations of rival political groupings using artillery, rockets, and mortars. Residential districts have been damaged as a result.

News agencies link the aggravation of the situation with the nomination on Tuesday of the well-known politician Sulayman Franjiyah for the office of president. S. Franjiyah, who is 78, has already served as president of Lebanon from 1970-76. He enjoys considerable authority among both Christians and Muslims but his candidacy is resolutely rejected by the right-wing Christian "Lebanese Forces," which have large, well-trained armed detachments. A spokesman for these forces stated that they view the nomination of S. Franjiyah as "the declaration of a new war in the country" because of that politician's alleged "pro-Syrian stance."

Observers are expressing fear in this connection that the "Lebanese Forces" may try to wreck the elections to prevent S. Franjiyah's election as president.

Israel has again grossly interfered in Lebanon's internal affairs. A Tel Aviv spokesman has declared that his government opposes the candidacy of S. Franjiyah or "any other pro-Syrian candidate."

The elections are to take place at an emergency session of parliament, which is located on the "green line" dividing the Lebanese capital into the western (Muslim) and eastern (Christian) sectors. Extraordinary security measures have been taken for the elections. Six guard gendarmes have been attached to each deputy. Considering the sorry experience of previous presidential campaigns, when parliamentarians were pressured by various military-political groupings, these measures seem in no way superfluous.

Under the Constitution, the future president should receive 66 percent of the vote, and only a Maronite Christian can become head of state. Among the other presidential candidates, the best known are Raymond Iddih, who has now lived in exile for 12 years, and Lebanese Army commander Michel 'Awn.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Disaster Aid To Be Dispatched to Sudan

LD1808131488 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—An Aeroflot Soviet airlines flight will carry a cargo of drugs, bandages, tents, blankets and necessaries to Khartoum, the capital of the Republic of Sudan.

This will be the first in a series of shipments sponsored by the Union of the USSR Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the Soviet Peace Fund to aid victims of floods in Sudan.

Congo's Sassou-Nguesso Receives Soviet Group

PM1908090288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] Brazzaville, 17 Aug—Denis Sassou-Nguesso, chairman of the Congolese Labor Party Central Committee and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, received here on Tuesday G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is head of a Soviet party and state delegation which took part in the celebrations to mark the 25th anniversary of the Congolese Revolution.

The leader of the Congolese state cordially thanked the Soviet leadership for the warm, friendly greetings on the notable date. In the course of the conversation he showed great interest in the restructuring processes in the USSR and the democratization of the political system. The Congolese people, he said, value highly the Soviet Union's assistance and solidarity. The president expressed the conviction that cooperation between the two countries will continue to develop.

D. Sassou-Nguesso noted the USSR's role in the considerable warming up of the international climate, the lessening of the danger of the outbreak of world war, and the unblocking of regional conflicts, particularly in southern Africa.

Mali Delegation's Arrival in Moscow Reported

PM1808114588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Delegation's Arrival"]

[Text] A delegation of the Republic of Mali National Assembly, headed by National Assembly President S. Diarra, arrived in the capital 12 August on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Received by Demichev

PM1908090088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Contacts"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a delegation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Mali, headed by its chairman S. Diarra, in the Kremlin on 17 August.

During a friendly conversation the guests were told about the restructuring taking place in the USSR and the renewal of all spheres of socioeconomic life. These processes received new dynamism from the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which outlined concrete paths for the further democratization of the socialist society. It was noted that for Soviet people restructuring is indivisible from the establishment in international practice of the new political thinking and the processes of disarmament and the reduction of military spending.

The guests' attention was drawn to the Soviet foreign policy initiatives aimed at improving the situation in the world, unblocking regional conflicts, and resolving without delay the pressing tasks of all mankind. The situation on the African Continent was examined in detail, and the need was stressed for the African countries to rally in resolving urgent social problems.

The state of and prospects for bilateral relations, which are based on a firm foundation of noninterference and mutual respect, were also examined. The sides noted the existence of good opportunities for widening cooperation in various spheres and the concord of their views on key international issues.

The interlocutors agreed that contacts between the parliamentarians of the USSR and Mali help to deepen Soviet-Malian relations and give them new content. Both sides expressed the desire to extend these relations.

Angolan Foreign Ministry Announces Talks Venue

LD1808131888 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Luanda August 18 TASS—Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States will hold the fifth round of the four-nation talks on the settlement in southwestern Africa on August 24-26 in Brazzaville, the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Angola announced here.

The statement pointed out that the decision to hold the talks in Brazzaville was taken during the recent visit to Congo by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

East Europe

Further Reportage on Labor Strikes in Poland

PZPR Notes Situation

LD1808140588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] A report on a PZPR Politburo session has been published in Warsaw. It discusses the situation in the labor collectives. It is party duty to conduct a continuing dialogue with the workers' collectives, listen to their views and eradicate the sources of discontent, it was stressed at the session. But it happens, the report continues, that selfish group interests are placed first to the detriment of common interests. Thus one cannot demand pay rises which are not warranted by the levels of production and labor productivity. Strike blackmail can only extend the economic difficulties.

These words apply primarily to the instigators of a strike at the July Manifesto mine in the city of Jastrzebie Zdroj. The strike there began in the evening on 15 August. Its initiators submitted a number of economic and political demands. Reporting the strike, PAP noted that the political demands are clearly inspired by extremists from the former Solidarity organization.

In this respect the superprompt and efficient coverage of the strike by Western media is also revealing. Western correspondents established contact with members of the unlawful strike committee and underground groups from the very first hours of the strike.

Moscow TV Report

LD1808220088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Poland: Several hundred workers at the July Manifesto mine in Jastrzebie-Zdroj today continued their illegal strike. Talks with the enterprise's management produced no results. According to PAP, dock workers at several terminals in Szczecin Port have stopped working. Several hundred workers out of the 6,000-strong port collective have advanced a number of political and economic demands. This strike has also been declared illegal. According to the reports, an active instigatory role among the dock workers is being played by extremists connected with underground groups. [video shows ships at berth; trucks standing idle]

Western Radios' 'Anti-Czechoslovak' Attacks

LD1808181688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Report by correspondent in Czechoslovakia Vladimir Taranov]

[Text] Western radio stations have sharply increased the number of programs containing anti-Czechoslovak and antisocialist attacks. They accuse the socialist state of imaginary violations of free thought. For example, Radio Free Europe broadcasts monthly more than 80 reports on this subject. Voice of America acts in the same vein. Representatives of Western ideological subversion centers are trying to create an atmosphere of tension and confrontation between state organs and the church and are spreading disinformation under the pretext of being concerned over alleged violations of religious freedom in the CSSR. There are 18 churches in Czechoslovakia, including the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox churches, a Jewish community, and various evangelical and other churches.

The church in the CSSR has not been separated from the state, and the clergy receive their monthly salaries, which are average in the country. They enjoy free health care and are covered by all social benefits. Priests are educated in six higher theological educational establishments. At schools parents can opt for religious education for their children. Believers and atheists enjoy equal rights, and the issue of faith and beliefs is strictly the private matter of each Czechoslovak citizen. All problems arising between the state and the church are solved in the spirit of mutual understanding. The state looks after the material situation of churches, and has a genuine respect for those in the clergy whose devotion to faith is combined with their love for the mother country and struggle for peace.

The inadmissibility of using religious feeling for political purposes, which may harm the interests of socialism, is an unshakable principle of the religious policy. Czechoslovak state organs have been maintaining an active dialogue with all of those church figures who show a sensible approach, refrain from professing antisocialist views, think of the interests of believers and those of the state, and fight for peace.

Albania Reduces Anti-Soviet Rhetoric

LD1808224788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1921 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] Processes are taking place in Albania which I would call a careful movement toward giving up self-isolation. Diplomatic relations have been established with the FRG. An exchange of high-level visits has taken place with Turkey and Greece. This February Albania took part in a conference of Balkan foreign ministers in

Belgrade. That is, we can see a growth in Albania's diplomatic activity, although current Albanian party leader Alia will hardly start hurrying to liquidate the isolationist regime created by his predecessor Enver Hoxha.

Albania is in extreme need of foreign credit in order to change the backward structure of its industry, but the Constitution adopted during Enver Hoxha's rule forbids accepting foreign credit. Hoxha said that Albanians would rather eat grass than accept 30 pieces of silver from imperialists or revisionists. Even if Alia wanted to open the Albanian door ever so slightly wider to contacts with the outside world, he would not, I think, be able to do that. The widow of Enver Hoxha, Mexhmije, wields enormous political influence to this day. She is not a member of the Politburo but she has several influential persons in the upper echelon of the party leadership. Albania has raised the level of relations with certain socialist countries. Full diplomatic relations were re-established in the last year with the GDR and Bulgaria. The question of exchanging ambassadors with Czechoslovakia is being considered.

Of course, it is still very early to talk about normalizing Soviet-Albanian relations, which, of course, we would welcome. However, I am nonetheless inclined to perceive some hints as a wish to attain a normalization in the foreseeable future. The thing is that, notwithstanding the nonacceptance of the ideas of restructuring and glasnost which are being practised in the USSR, the Albanian leadership has nonetheless lowered the level of anti-Soviet rhetoric in its mass media.

Briefs

Kirghiz Academy-Bulgarian Agreement

Scientists of the Kirghiz Academy of Sciences and specialists from a Bulgarian heavy engineering association have signed an agreement on direct scientific and technological cooperation, and on formation of a modern Soviet-Bulgarian engineering center called Inter-Impuls. As early as this year, equipment for tunnel construction will be manufactured according to blueprints from scientists in Kirghizia and Bulgaria, equipment which in its technical performance is in many ways better than Western models. Serial production of it will begin next year at Bulgarian plants. [Text] [*LD1908050388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 18 Aug 88 LD*]

West Europe

Afghan Foreign Minister Meets Press in Helsinki

LD1808142588 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Helsinki August 18 TASS—Afghan Foreign Minister 'Abdul Wakil said that the earliest implementation of the Geneva accords aimed at settling the situation around Afghanistan and national reconciliation were the only right and reliable way towards achieving peace and stability in Afghanistan.

Speaking to journalists at today's news conference in Helsinki during his unofficial visit here, Wakil pointed out that the Afghan Government has been and was taking vigorous efforts to resolve as early as possible the protracted and dangerous conflict around Afghanistan by peaceful means.

A coalition government which will continue to expand its social basis has been formed. More than 100,000 refugees have returned to Afghanistan from abroad.

At the same time, Wakil noted that Pakistan continued putting up impediments to repatriates returning to Afghanistan in violation of the Geneva accords. The Pakistani authorities continue supplying the Afghan opposition with weapons, food and ammunition.

Wakil expressed the hope that intermediaries were going to step up their role in establishing peace in Afghanistan, meaning the United States, above all, which could influence the Pakistani side.

The Afghan foreign minister denied the allegations of some Western newspapers that the Soviet troops withdrawal was being accompanied by fierce battles and emphasized that all Soviet troops' actions since the Geneva agreements went into effect had been undertaken in self-defence.

On behalf of the Afghan leadership, 'Abdul Wakil conveyed condolences to the Pakistani people on the tragic death of President Ziaul Haq.

Genscher Welcomes Improved FRG-USSR Ties

PM1808134088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 7 Aug 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher by Vladimir Markov: "Hans-Dietrich Genscher: FRG-USSR Relations Are Much Better Now"—date and place not given]

[Text] West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in the USSR recently on a working visit, kindly granted an interview to "MN" correspondent Vladimir Markov.

[Markov] In mid-July the Warsaw Treaty countries put forward a programme for conventional disarmament in Europe, taking into account some of the West's wishes. What is your assessment of this programme?

[Genscher] I think it's important that in its statement, made in the Polish capital, the Warsaw Treaty considered the conceptual considerations which the Western alliance set forth in its Brussels Declaration of December 1986. Now we must adopt a balanced and meaningful final document at the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting and thus set the stage for starting conventional disarmament talks this year. Our common goal must consist in creating a

situation in Europe in which the armed forces of both sides possess a capability exclusively for defence, not for offensive operations and pressuring the opposite side.

[Markov] We have witnessed a marked improvement in Soviet-West German relations lately. How do you envisage their further development?

[Genscher] I agree with your assessment. My recent talks in Moscow show that our bilateral relations have improved considerably. These talks were characterized by an atmosphere of trust and a spirit of goodwill in which we examined a large number of issues. Such trends must and, I hope, will continue to develop. Both governments are resolved to impart a new quality to these relations and expand them in every area. I have in mind, for instance, political dialogue and extensive cooperation in the economy, science, culture and in the solution of humanitarian problems. In so doing, we can proceed from old traditions in our peoples' history. Both sides are aware of the key role their relationships have to play for peaceful cooperation in Europe. Simultaneously, this implies that we should not forget our responsibility as members of corresponding alliances. I am firmly convinced: The creation of stable, good-neighbourly relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union will be consistent not only with our respective interests, but with those of Europe as a whole.

Over the next few months we will be dealing with issues in our relations with a view to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the USSR this autumn and by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the FRG in the first half of next year. Both events are significant. They should profoundly influence the course of relations between our two countries.

[Markov] Launch issues of a German-language "MOSCOW NEWS" are now being published in the Federal Republic. What is your feeling about this project?

[Genscher] We think highly of this experiment. Since people in our country take a keen interest in perestroyka in the Soviet Union, they see MOSCOW NEWS as a very lively paper through which they can obtain information about your country. I wish you every success in further efforts to make the German-language MOSCOW NEWS a permanent project.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. 'Anti-Panamanian Campaign' Attacked

PM1808141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Aug 88 Second Edition p 7

[Gennadiy Zafesov "Viewpoint": "Cards on the Table"]

[Text] The anti-Panama campaign in the United States is taking a new turn. The spiral is twisting tighter and tighter. Recently reports have appeared in the press that Washington is continuing to support the opposition forces. In particular, it has become known that their representatives have been given access to certain Panamanian Government funds frozen in U.S. bank accounts. NBC television has reported that U.S. communications facilities have been given to the ousted Panamanian President Delvalle, who is still in hiding. It is believed that with the aid of these facilities he will be able to maintain closer contact with the opposition forces.

The vigorous, systematic attacks on Panama have been continuing for over a year. Political, military, economic, and ideological means of pressure have been used. Outwardly the United States is trying to "individualize" its intrigues; that is, it is pretending that all the reasons for the worsening of the contradictions between Panama and the United States are focused on the figure of General Noriega, commander in chief of the National Defense Forces. President Reagan's words on this score are well known: "Undoubtedly, he (Noriega) is not suited to Panama." We are not going to comment on the style of the statement but we shall venture to express doubts that a country as powerful as the United States would go to so much trouble to remove one man. There is often an element of subjectivity in politics, of course, but the ultimate goal of any political action always envisages very tangible and specific results. Declarations of the type: "In support of the Panamanian people and President Delvalle and their efforts to revive democracy" do not so much clarify as obscure the White House's true intentions.

Washington inadvertently showed its hand in the brochures and leaflets distributed in the United States and Panama by the so-called "Center for Strategic and International Research" and the "Center for a Free Society." Judging by the initial figures in their printed material both are based in the United States. One can only guess at who is financing them, but their purpose is more than obvious: It is to continue the efforts aimed at destabilizing the situation in Panama. Both centers are doing their utmost to justify the expenditure on them.

Excessive effort was also the undoing of those who are fueling the anti-Panamanian campaign. It is common knowledge that by the year 2000 the Panama Canal is to return to the full jurisdiction of Panama. Accordingly the U.S. troops are to be removed from the Canal Zone and their bases there eliminated. So the "researchers" from the aforementioned centers came to the conclusion that this will "cause irreparable harm to U.S. military-strategic and political interests." So as to prevent that suddenly happening they are calling for a "review" of the treaties concluded between Panama and the United States in 1977 which provide for the transfer of the canal to Panama. In other words, they want to assign the canal to the United States and consequently preserve the Pentagon's bases and the U.S. military presence there.

It seems very much as though all this is part of a broad anti-Panamanian campaign. This idea is also suggested by the fact that a group of U.S. Republican Congressmen have prepared a draft resolution providing for the abrogation of the Panama Canal treaties.

Recently THE WASHINGTON POST and a number of television companies reported that the U.S. President had approved a plan for secret operations with regard to Panama. It goes without saying that the content of the plan remains a secret but some observers believe that it includes the creation of small detachments of Panamanians and the provision of military training, weapons, and equipment to them. Is this not an attempt to train a Panamanian version of the contras? Officially this theory is rejected. The President's press spokesman M. Fitzwater answered no to the many questions about whether new sanctions are being planned against Panama. Let us take him at his word and ignore that Morton Abramowitz, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for intelligence and research, is currently in Panama. I should like to add, however, that any word gains particular weight when backed up by concrete steps and actions. There is an abyss between America's stated good intentions and its concrete actions. That is why concern is growing in Panama itself, in the region, and in the world community.

The emergence of yet another regional conflict could gravely harm the situation as a whole. Common sense and experience suggest that it is far easier to prevent a conflict than to seek ways to settle it.

Ortega Calls for Dialogue With United States

PM1808115288 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Ready To Resume Talks"]

[Text] Managua, 17 Aug—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has declared that the government of the Republic is prepared to begin dialogue with the United States on problems of mutual security with no preliminary conditions on either side.

In an interview given to journalists, he said that Nicaragua seeks ways of normalizing relations with the United States. Dialogue between the two countries is necessary in order to stabilize the situation in the region and prevent the escalation of conflict, D. Ortega noted. At the same time he categorically rejected the Washington administration's attempts to make preliminary demands on Nicaragua as a condition for holding such talks. The dialogue should only concern questions of bilateral relations and should not touch on the two countries' domestic political problems, the president stressed.

The Nicaraguan Government regards as positive the conditions for resuming national dialogue with opposition political parties, which they broke off unilaterally in April of this year. This was said in a statement issued here on the results of the latest session of the Nicaraguan commission for national reconciliation, in which Vice President Sergio Ramirez, Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, chairman of the commission, and leaders of a number of political parties took part. The statement notes that the Republic's government is ready for a serious debate on questions of domestic political life and will place no obstacles in the path of the resumption of these talks.

Chilean Communists View Upcoming Plebiscite

PM1908090488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Chilean Communists' Appeal"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 17 Aug—An appeal to the Chilean people to show vigilance and not to permit falsification of the results of the forthcoming plebiscite has been made by the Communist Party of Chile (PCC). Representatives of its leadership held an improvised news conference in a central hotel in Santiago, in the course of which they stressed that only Pinochet's departure from the political scene would guarantee the restoration of democratic freedoms in Chile. Taking part in the news conference were PCC representatives L. Guastavino, M. Baltra, and J. Sanfuentes.

As is well known, at the end of this month the ruling military regime is to name its official candidate for the post of president, who will be in power from 1989 through 1997. At the beginning of October Chileans are to express their opinion on this matter. Hardly anyone doubts that the candidate will be Pinochet. He has already begun a massive propaganda campaign, the core of which is frenzied anticommunism and promises of "prosperity" for Chile.

Anticommunism, the PCC representatives pointed out at the news conference, has long been the "Trojan horse" of the dictatorial regime, which intends to use the so-called plebiscite to perpetuate the present system of Pinochet's personal power. To achieve this goal the regime will engage in gross falsification of the results of the vote. There can hardly be any question of free elections, when the most elementary human rights are systematically violated in Chile and repressions and persecutions of dissidents continue, the Chilean Communists stressed.

A group of Argentine legislators from the ruling Radical Civic Union party and also opposition parties—the Justice Party, the Intransigent Party, and the Popular Socialist Party—spent a few days in Santiago. We believe, the Argentine politicians stated on their return, that a crude farce is being prepared in Chile in connection with the vote, the results of which could be falsified. This is indicated by the continuing emergency measures, instances of judicial persecution and imprisonment of journalists, and cruel suppression of any demonstrations against the regime.

Political & Social

Politburo Discusses Agriculture, Criminal Law

PM1908141388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] At its latest meeting on 18 August, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo considered the question of stepping up organizational work by party committees, local soviet and economic bodies, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes in conducting harvest work, procuring fodder, and fulfilling state orders for purchases of agricultural produce. During a discussion in which the first secretaries of Communist Party Central Committees, the chairmen of the Councils of Ministers of some union republics, and the first secretaries of a number of kraykoms and obkoms took part, it was stressed that the well-organized completion of harvesting and other field work; the preparation of the entire agro-industrial complex, and above all animal husbandry, for winter; and the establishment of foundations for the future harvest are tasks of general state and political significance, and that the improvement of food supplies to the population depends on the successful performance of these tasks.

The attention of Communists who are leaders of a number of republics, krays, and oblasts, and the heads of certain ministries was drawn to serious elements of negligence in providing the back-up for the harvest drive and in increasing the production and procurement of land and of animal husbandry output. These shortcomings have been caused first and foremost by the fact that many party committees and primary party organizations are assessing uncritically the difficulty of the situation that has come about in a number of areas of the country. They put up with manifestations of carefree attitudes and irresponsibility and fail to see the real link between the level of organizational work now and how well people are provided with foodstuffs.

A decision adopted on this matter notes that the union republics' Communist Party central committees and the party committees of krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, rayons, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and processing enterprises are obliged to step up organizational and political work in labor collectives; to achieve the full mobilization of existing capacities and resources to speed up the harvesting rate of grain, fodder, and industrial and other crops; to insure the reliable safekeeping and timely processing of the harvest and the use of all sources for replenishing stocks of coarse and succulent types of fodder; and to apply on a wider basis the capacities and resources of towns to bring in the harvest and develop the processing industry and the social sphere in the countryside.

It is necessary to be more exacting toward Communists, managers, and specialists on farms for the unconditional fulfillment of state orders for purchases of grain, meat, milk, potatoes, and other agricultural produce; to create a businesslike atmosphere and the necessary conditions for the expansion and intensification of leasing relations; and to involve private subsidiary plots more widely in efforts to increase meat and milk resources on contractual principles. The party organizations are called upon to restructure their work more quickly, not to wait for additional instructions, but to diplay greater energy and independence in resolving the food question, as demanded by the directives of the 19th all-union party conference and the July 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The question of measures to further improve Soviet criminal legislation has been examined. It was noted at the session that the preparation of the draft of the new fundamental principles of criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics is an important part of the work involved in shaping a socialist legal state. This legislative document reflects the changes occurring in our society, the principles of lawfulness, democratism, equality of citizens before the law, justice, and humanism, and the unavoidable responsibility of all those who infringe on Soviet law and order.

Attention was given to the necessity of substantially reducing the list of acts which carry criminal responsibility, placing petty acts in the category of disciplinary and administrative misdemeanors. There is the possibility of making greater use of social influences, material sanctions, and punishments not involving incarceration for citizens who have committed crimes but are not considered a danger to society. At the same time, no indulgence can be permitted regarding individuals who have committed serious crimes and inveterate habitual offenders who stubbornly resist the road to being reformed.

The Central Committee Politburo considered it expedient to recommend that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discuss the draft extensively and take into account the results of the discussion in the final text of the draft law, which will be submitted to a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet for approval.

At the session proposals were supported regarding the improvement of the organization of cultural contacts between the USSR and other countries in the interests of strengthening peace and mutual understanding among peoples. In light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, a considerable broadening of independence and the heightening of the role of the union republics, local soviets of people's deputies, public organizations, and the creative unions is envisaged in the conduct of cultural exchanges with other countries.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined several other questions of domestic and foreign policy.

Solomentsev Discusses Rehabilitation Commission

PM1808165188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 Aug 88 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Interview with M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Politburo Commission for the Additional Study of Materials Relating to the Repressions That Occurred in the Period of the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties, by PRAVDA correspondents Viktor Kozhemyako and Arkadiy Sakhnin: "Truth Versus Slander"; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Soviet people greeted with satisfaction the formation of this commission. In numerous letters, PRAVDA readers express approval of the initial results of its activity and ask for more detailed coverage of the course of subsequent work.

Labor veteran A. Zharinov, former engineer at the Moskva-Sortirovochnaya Depot, writes, for instance: "I remember well how public opinion was indoctrinated, how criminal lies were instilled into Soviet people in Stalin's time, when the Politburo's activity was shrouded in secrecy and everything that happened in the state was hidden from us. And yet the fabricated trials were publicized as extensively as possible. All the press and the radio reported the unmasking of 'counterrevolutionary organizations' and various 'centers,' the course of the judicial investigation, the indictments, the interrogations of the accused and their 'confessions,' the prosecutors' speeches, the verdicts, and so forth. It therefore seems all the more appropriate now to report how this criminal tangle is being unraveled, how the Politburo Commission is working."

These and other questions, which are entirely natural in the time of restructuring, democratization, and broad glasnost, formed the basis of the conversation.

[PRAVDA] Mikhail Sergeyevich, PRAVDA's readers show great interest in the activity of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission. This interest has intensified still further since the 19th all-union party conference. What are the commission's aims and tasks? Who is on the commission? What organs and institutions are involved in the work of judicial and party rehabilitation?

[Solomentsev] The Politburo Commission was set up in accordance with a decision of the CPSU Central Committee October (1987) Plenum. As is clear from the commission's title, its task is the additional study of materials relating to the repressions that occurred in the period of the thirties, forties, and early fifties. We are to continue the research into known and new facts and documents concerning the tragic events of the past, with a view to completing the task of restoring historical truth and justice.

The composition of the commission is fairly prestigious. Apart from the chairman, it includes Politburo members A.N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and V.M. Chebrikov, chairman of the USSR KGB; candidate members of the Politburo G.P. Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and P.N. Demichev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; V.I. Boldin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee General Department; and G.L. Smirnov, director of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

It should be stressed that the commission's work does not take place in isolation. The work takes place in close contact with the union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. Central and local organs of the court, the prosecutor's office, and state security and many Soviet citizens are involved in this work.

All materials and documents that survive in the archives of party and state organs, without exception, have been put at the commission's disposal. The examination and study of the documents is entrusted to the most experienced and qualified staffers. The commission relies on the support of the broad public in its work.

[PRAVDA] Can continuity be traced between the commission's work and the activity of the commissions and organizations that were set up on the eve of and after the 20th party congress? Is it possible to see in what way the research being carried out is on a fundamentally different level?

[Solomentsev] As you know, after the 20th CPSU Congress the good name of many party and state figures, economic and military workers, scientists, cultural figures, Communists, and nonmembers of the party who had suffered innocently was restored. In 1954 central and local commissions were set up to review the cases against persons convicted on political charges in 1934-1953. And to give them their due, they did substantial, painstaking work, fully rehabilitating hundreds of thousands of Soviet citizens who were condemned without justification.

Unfortunately, the work of these commissions was cut short prematurely, although, as the facts show, a significant number of cases had yet to be examined. The chronological limits for the review of cases were also restricted without justification. Yet documents show that unjusified repressions occurred even earlier, prior to 1934.

As you know, the decisions of the 20th and 22d party congresses in this respect were consigned to oblivion some time ago. And that could not, of course, fail to be reflected in the general appraoch to the assessment of political repressions.

For the sake of fairness, let me observe that even after that, in the years of stagnation, on the basis of complaints from those who were repressed or their relatives, individual cases were reviewed by law enforcement and party organs, including the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

[PRAVDA] What do you see as the shortcomings of the rehabilitation work that was done at that time?

[Solomentsev] The rehabilitation process was selective and episodic. They not infrequently confined themselves to judicial rehabilitation, omitting to resolve the question of party status. But the most serious error was probably that they did not question the existence of the so-called "centers" and "blocs" that supposedly led subversive, espionage, and sabotage activity. The assessment of these groups as counterrevolutionary organizations was not reexamined. Basically it was a taboo subject. The justification for the charges brought against whole groups of prominent party and state figures, as well as ordinary Communists and nonmembers of the party, was not fully analyzed.

And yet, as the more profound research carried out this year has shown, neither organized factional groups, nor "blocs," nor "centers" actually existed, and the charges against their members were based on materials that were falsified in the course of the investigation and judicial examination. We are seeking to avoid a repetition of the mistakes made in the fifties and sixties, and we are organizing our work in such a way as to ensure an exhaustive study of the underlying nature of each group case and the fate of each specific individual.

The commission regards its activity as part of the general process of purging society of the grave mistakes and crimes of the past. The 19th party conference resolution stresses: "The CPSU will never permit a repetition of anything resembling what was associated with the periods of the personality cult and stagnation, which caused profound deformations in the socialist society, held back its development by entire decades, and resulted in enormous human costs and incalculable moral and ideological losses." We must all firmly follow the party's course and finally eradicate and extirpate the shameful stains of the past.

[PRAVDA] Can you give concrete examples to show how the materials are examined in practice?

[Solomentsev] Our work is structured on the basis of a carefully thought-out plan and is carried out in strict accordance with the norms of party and state life. Before studying a specific case or trial, we instruct the USSR Prosecutor's Office and other competent institutions to carry out an in-depth examination of the case and adopt appropriate decisions based on the law, and to give us an exhaustive, argued conclusion supported by irrefutable evidence, after which we come to our final conclusions.

[PRAVDA] And what if it is a question of the rehabilitation of persons convicted other than by a court [v nesudebnom poryadke]?

[Solomentsev] On these cases, too, an appeal is submitted by the USSR Prosecutor's Office and its local organs to the USSR Supreme Court and other judicial bodies. I would like to stress that the courts and organs of the prosecutor's office and state security are guided in their activity only by the law. And this, it must be said, is constantly borne in mind by the commission. "Pressure" or "coercion" from above is entirely excluded. The highest judicial organs take their decisions at open sessions and in the presence of representatives of the press.

It must be said that this work is difficult and very responsible. It is necessary to study historical facts and people's views, positions, and actions with the utmost thoroughness.

[PRAVDA] How are cases of the party status of persons who have been judicially rehabilitated examined?

[Solomentsev] They are examined by the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, and also by the union republic Communist Party Central Committees and party kraykoms and obkoms, in strict accordance with existing CPSU Central Committee resolutions.

It should be said that the cases we are studying are first and foremost of a political nature. Therefore, it is necessary carefully to study the cause-and-effect relationships of phenomena and facts and to relate the trials to the specific historical situation and the intensity of the political and ideological struggle during that period. The analysis of the programs and platforms put forward at the time and the clarification of different viewpoints on various political, economic, and social problems are important. Here, naturally, special weight is attached to the opinions of our historians and sociologists and the staffers of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

[PRAVDA] What is the role of the commission itself?

[Solomentsev] It coordinates all the work on rehabilitation, ensures that this work is planned and systematic, checks on the fulfillment of the measures planned, studies the relevant materials, and hears reports on the results of the judicial and party examination of trials and cases and assesses them. All the sessions are reported in the press and on radio and television.

[PRAVDA] In the years of the personality cult, certain figures from foreign communist parties and the Comintern who were in the Soviet Union also became victims of tyranny. Is an additional study of the cases relating to these people taking place?

[Solomentsev] This work was begun, as you know, back in the mid-fifties. But it was not finished. Now the commission has these matters in mind, too. Of course, here contacts with the fraternal parties concerned are necessary.

[PRAVDA] What prompted you once again to go back to apparently familiar cases like the "Leningrad case," the "anti-Soviet Trotskiyist military organization" (the "military plot"), and others that were examined back in the fifties?

[Solomentsev] On studying the materials of the earlier commission we found that certain totally innocent people had not been fully rehabilitated or restored to the party. We gave corresponding instructions for additional investigation to the organs of the prosecutor's office and the Party Control Committee, and now it can be said that this work is complete. We will continue to seek completeness in the examination of cases by the commission. In our view this largely determines the fundamentally new standard of rehabilitation work.

[PRAVDA] On what documents is the review of the earlier decisions based? What difficulties are you encountering? In particular, are there no cases of documents having been removed from the archives?

[Solomentsev] Every decision is based on a careful analysis of the entire range of documents relating to the particular problem and particular individual. It is based not on the wish, will, or whim of individuals, but on objective conclusions and assessments arising out of all the available materials whose authenticity is beyond doubt.

As was said before, the commission has material from all the archives at its disposal. It is studying and examining investigation and court materials, records of interrogations and confrontations of witnesses, party bodies' decisions, memoranda, clarifications, and the evidence of witnesses, victims of repression, and their relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The commission is also looking at historical and literary publications, of course. Thousands of new documents have been turned up in a comparatively short space of time.

As yet we do not know of any cases of archive material having been removed, but we have encountered archives, including party archives, that are in a mess. We are taking the necessary steps in those cases. But, as you can appreciate, no archive can answer all the questions that arise. Here we have to resort to other sources in order to obtain an objective, comprehensive profile of an ordinary worker or one who was well known in the past. The commission would be very grateful to institutions and individuals able to provide any materials shedding light on specific facts associated with illegal repressions.

[PRAVDA] What comment have you to make on letters to the editor with the following content: "Why should I believe the commission's conclusions? I have read records of trials published in the past—haven't they recorded admissions of guilt?..."

[Solomentsev] I must say that we have received statements of this kind, too. I can understand the people who write them. The views of some people are now dividing, as it were. For decades they believed what they read and heard and what they learned at school. People read the records of open trials. They are in libraries and citizens own them as well. But these documents are unreliable. I emphasize, unreliable and untruthful. They are falsified to the same extent as the investigation and court materials are falsified. They have lost juridical and moral force. You cannot have two truths. There is one truth. Truth is a mirror which also illuminates slander. A thoughtful approach to the study of all the materials makes it possible to draw an objective conclusion.

[PRAVDA] What kind of letters and applications is the commission receiving? What measures are being adopted on them?

[Solomentsev] Since last November we have received more than 3,000 letters and applications. They are carefully studied by the commission working apparatus and sent on its behalf for the relevant institutions and organizations to examine. Communists and nonparty people, young and old people write in. They express thanks to the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet state for the work being done to resurrect the principles and norms of party, state, and public life, historical truth, and social justice.

The writers of many applications support the measures being taken to rehabilitate people who were wrongly subjected to repression for political reasons during the Stalin personality cult and they resolutely condemn the violations of socialist legality and the tyranny that occurred then. The letter from A. Zharinov cited at the beginning of the conversation is very typical in this respect.

[PRAVDA] The press has recently described the tragic fate of N.I. Bukharin, A.I. Rykov, M.N. Tukhachevskiy, A.A. Kuznetsov, and others. But it is well known that a similar fate also befell many ordinary Soviet citizens. What is being done to rehabilitate them?

[Solomentsev] I must say that we are equally interested in the fate of prominent party and state figures and ordinary citizens—workers, peasants, employees, soviet and economic workers, and representatives of the intelligentsia. A decision has been made to examine cases of this kind even without applications, proceeding simply on the basis that such cases exist.

During the commission's work 636 people have been judicially rehabilitated. These include A.A. Fedoseyev, manager of a Tambov brickworks; Red Army man Ya.F. Nalivayko; G.I. Kurayev, chief clerk at the Kuybyshev horsetrack; and other ordinary workers.

We received an application from T.V. Bekasova from Moscow regarding the rehabilitation of her father, Vladimir Vasilyevich Bekasov, who worked as a concrete layer on an auto plant construction site and was repressed on a charge of counterrevolutionary agitation in 1937. "My father's death destroyed our family," she wrote, "and robbed me of my childhood. I am the last surviving member of our family; I want to know the truth about my father and whether his good name has been restored or not."

The USSR Prosecutor's Office examined this letter on instruction from the committee. V.V. Bekasov was, as it turned out, repressed unjustifiably. The USSR prosecutor general lodged an appeal with the Presidium of the the Moscow City Court. On 2 June 1988 the good name of Vladimir Vasilyevich Bekasov was restored.

[PRAVDA] Mikhail Sergeyevich, could you not cite instances of the investigation of applications relating to the party status of people unjustly repressed?

[Solomentsev] There are quite a few of them, too. This year 68 people have been reinstated in the party. These include M.S. Boguslavskiy (Novosibirsk), G.K. Saakyan (Yerevan), Ye.I. Ananyev (Vladimir), M.F. Ivashko (Moscow), P.G. Yakovchenko (Zhitomir), and others. K.F. Chelpan, a party member since 1923, worked as chief designer in a department of the Kharkov Locomotive Building Plant. In 1934 he was awarded the Order of Lenin for his selfless work, but in 1937 he was charged with sabotage, arrested, and expelled from the party. Thorough analysis showed the far-fetched nature of these charges. He has been completety rehabilated. On application by a number of comrades the gap in their party membership record has been removed.

I would like to say that, as distinct from previous practice, party gorkoms and raykoms have been obligated with issuing official reports, on relatives' request, on the results of the examination of questions connected with the party status of people judicially rehabilitated.

The nature of reports on rehabilitation is also changing. The announcement on this contains information about the official and public status of citizens prior to their arrest and describes their services to the party and state. The reports explain in detail the procedure for calculating length of labor service, fixing benefits, pensions, provision of living space, compensation for confiscated property, the return of state awards removed at the time of arrest, and so forth. All this is undoubtedly important for the victims of repression, their relatives, and all our public.

[PRAVDA] Do all the letters approve of the work on rehabilitation?

[Solomentsev] No, there are also letters of a different kind. There are incomparably fewer of them, but they should be mentioned. In particular, doubt is expressed as to the advisability of "stirring up old matters." I feel that the writers of such letters would like to brush aside painful questions of the past. The bitterness, pain, vexation, and disagreement voiced in certain statements are understandable. It does, of course, make for a quieter life not to know this, to be ignorant of it.

"But," M.S. Gorbachev said, "a person's revolutionary awareness, civic stance, courage, and high responsibility, which are so necessary for the success of restructuring, cannot emerge from such an approach. Precisely this is why the party has boldly undertaken a critical reexamination of the past, the reinstatement of the historical truth, and the rehabilitation of those who were the victims of unjust political charges and lawlessness. This work must be continued.

"There must be no questions for which the answers have to be evaded, and there must be no doubts which can be brushed aside. It is a question of our party honor and conscience, of the intellectual dignity of Lenin's party."

[PRAVDA] What requests do people put to you, apart from for judicial and party rehabilitation?

[Solomentsev] They ask for the damage resulting from illegal actions to be repaired, for their return to their former domicile, for improved housing conditions, for benefits, and for the return of awards.

Depending on the letters' contents, we send them to the appropriate law-enforcement, party, and soviet organs. We monitor their examination.

Many letters raised the question of perpetuating the memory of innocent victims. Delegates to the all-union party conference also expressed themselves in the same spirit. In this connection, as is known, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo adopted a decision on the construction in Moscow of a monument to the victims of the lawlessness and repression that took place during the years of Stalin's personality cult. That decision met with a warm response in Soviet people's hearts.

[PRAVDA] Are the places where innocent victims were buried known?

[Solomentsev] Frankly speaking, this question is not only of a sorrowful nature but of a deplorable and, if you like, impasse nature in terms of the difficulty of resolving it. It is, unfortunately, practically impossible to establish the burial sites of persons who died in prison.

[PRAVDA] Are there any letters concerning the activity of the commission itself?

[Solomentsev] Some contain criticisms and suggestions whose meaning boils down to improving the commission's work and, in particular, introducing more glasnost into its activity. We are drawing the necessary conclusions from this, as testified, incidentally, by the very fact of our conversation.

The authors of the letters and everyone engaged in the investigation of them would like the examination of the applications to be expedited. Thus, one of the people who appealed to us insisted that the question of his rehabilitation be resolved in the course of a single day. Excessive haste and hurry are poor assistants in any matters and especially in our work. In order to look into each application and the questions raised in them it is necessary, as it were, to return anew to the past, to study the mass of materials, and to have discussions with many people. On the other hand, delaying tactics and the manifestation of any kind of formalism whatsoever are also inadmissible. Steps are now being taken to improve this work locally too.

[PRAVDA] To what extent are live testimonies of the victims of tyranny, recollections of eyewitnesses and of the friends and relations of those who suffered, and also numerous press articles by historians, lawyers, sociologists, journalists, and writers being enlisted for the research?

[Solomentsev] There is no need to mention the great historical, moral-political, and psychological value of all these sources. Live testimony is, of course, of special significance for us. Incidentally, there are many statements on the lines purely of reminiscences which do not contain any special requests. People consider it their duty to recount what happened to them personally or to those near to them—father, mother, brother, sister. Many describe how life was shaping up well, how people were laboring strenuously, when, out of the blue, they were engulfed by arrests, false accusations, and impermissible methods of physical and psychological coercion. Investigators frequently stopped at nothing to obtain the "necessary" depositions. Both in the courts and in the "troykas" [three-man commissions] statements about the fabrication of evidence were, as a rule, ignored.

The commission is also taking into consideration numerous articles about the tragic pages of the past. We would like to take this opportunity at the same time to express the wish that the press should not permit bias or imprecision in setting out the facts, not to mention the deliberate distortion of the facts.

[PRAVDA] Tell us please what in fact an act of rehabilitation is, not only in the legal sense but also as regards the party and in the social sense? For a person who is being rehabilitated, what follows after the act of rehabilitation, apart from the restoration of his good name? Is everything being done for the moral and sociopsychological satisfaction of those who suffered and for the defense of their legitimate rights and interests?

[Solomentsev] In posing this question you, strictly speaking, have come near to answering it. The act of rehabilitation means the restoration of a person's good name and of his civil rights, compensation to some degree for the damage he has sustained, and notificaction that a given individual is rehabilitated and that the accusations leveled against him were unfounded, baseless, and slanderous. And in our view the maximum possible is being done not only for the return of the citizen or of the bright memory of a citizen to his milieu, to his near ones and dear ones, and to his friends, but also for the moral and sociopsychological satisfaction of the victims and for the defense of their rights and interests.

[PRAVDA] It is known that in the period of repressions in many instances whole families in fact suffered, including children, relatives, and even acquaintances. How are the interests of those who suffered indirectly being restored and defended?

[Solomentsev] The rehabilitation extends not only to those who suffered directly but also to the members of their families, especially since some of them were themselves frequently subjected to persecution and had their rights infringed upon. We perceive this as yet another injustice committed in the past. It was officially asserted that a son was not responsible for his father, but in actual fact not only sons but also daughters were held responsible for their fathers, and parents held responsible for their children.

This was expressed in terms of convictions, arrests, exiles, deprivation of jobs, and restrictions on the opportunity for receiving an education and to reside in certain places. Up to a certain age, children were often placed in children's homes, and were unable to stay in the apartments in which they had been living with their parents. In each such instance the relevant bodies are conducting a thorough investigation and are taking the necessary steps.

We recommend that labor collectives be informed about the kind of work which is being done in this respect. I think that such a practice ought to be expanded, enlisting for this as often as possible workers who themselves are directly involved in the noble work of rehabilitating innocent victims.

[PRAVDA] The restoration of justice does not, of course, amount merely to the rehabilitation of an innocent person. The question naturally arises about those who deviated from democratic norms, violated socialist legality, and perpetrated the repressions. Are they being called to account? This greatly worries readers. It is a question of the specific persons to blame for the abuses, the organizers and participants of the repressions. After all, there is no statute of limitation on moral responsibility for this. People write that no allusions to objective causes can justify the tyranny, the crimes against the person, still less the mass repressions.

[Solomentsev] Yes, of course, the inhuman deeds of the past can be neither forgotten nor forgiven. You know how the party assesses all this. The guilt of those who abused power, who shook the democratic and moral foundations of our Soviet society, is immense. Those who carried out the repressions brought the people too much grief. With regard to those instances of violations of socialist legality in the thirties, forties, and early fifties which have been revealed, the culprits have already been punished through criminal, legal, and party channels.

It is obviously not a secret to everyone that V.S. Abakumov, M.D. Ryumin, A.G. Leonov, V.I. Komarov, M.T. Likhachev, L.L. Shvartsman, and other former leaders and personnel of the USSR Ministry of State Security were sentenced to death for fabricating investigation materials.

There are many people guilty of abuses—those who have been named and those who have not yet been named. The degree of responsibility of each will undoubtedly be determined.

[PRAVDA] How is the personal role of Stalin and his immediate entourage in the organization of repressions and in the fate of the repressed emerging before the commission?

[Solomentsev] A qualitative difference in the work of the present commission should obviously also be seen in the imparting of greater detail to the assessments of Stalin's role as the chief culprit in the organization of the repressions and other negative phenomena. For all the importance of the decisions of the 20th party congress it must be said that, in them, the assessment of the personality cult came down mainly to the activity of one man. And all responsibility for violations of socialist legality was placed on him.

M.S. Gorbachev's 2 November 1987 report raised for the first time the question of the responsibility not only of Stalin but also of his entourage, as well as the question of assessing the regime of personal power under which the crimes committed by Stalin and the members of the leadership of the time became possible.

This opened up a new approach and put rehabilitation work on a higher level. And it is no accident that the commission's activity began not with an investigation into the fates of individuals but with an analysis of the trials which took place in Moscow and Leningrad, the trials which were, if you like, the key ones for a deeper understanding and correct assessment of the events of the second half of the thirties.

It is important to stress also that, in addition to open court trials, there was a large number of trials in camera of which the broad public was unaware and which were known only to a narrow circle of people. They were also a revelation to us, the members of the commission.

[PRAVDA] It is sometimes said that Stalin and the people close to him did not know of the instances of lawlessness. What could you say about the degree of participation in this criminal activity of other leaders on whom Stalin relied?

[Solomentsev] The documents in the possession of the Central Committee and Politburo Commission dispel the doubts existing on this score. The guilt of Stalin personally and of his immediate entourage to the party and people for the mass repressions and acts of lawlessness allowed was truly monstrous. But, I emphasize, the guilt of the "leaders" does not take away the responsibility of voluntary informers, of obedient executors, of the immediate violators of socialist legality, of those who supported and blindly fulfilled the inhuman orders and perpetrated the tyranny. The question of the responsibility of Stalin's entourage will, evidently, become exhaustively clear during the commission's further work.

[PRAVDA] It is known that in the twenties some party figures like A.D. Tsyurupa, for instance, resolutely opposed individual incorrect actions of Stalin's. Do you believe that if Stalin's entire closest entourage had acted in the same way we could have avoided the very grave consequences of which we are now speaking with such bitterness?

[Solomentsev] Yes, undoubtedly. A.D. Tsyurupa, G.K. Ordzhonikidze, and several other eminent state and party figures, adopting a principled stance, frequently opposed Stalin's erroneous and criminal actions. If the others had displayed objectivity and principledness, it may be supposed that not only would matters not have reached the point of violations of legality and repressions, but that we would obviously have reached the concept of the legal state far sooner.

[PRAVDA] Is it not paradoxical that revolutionaries who had been through tsarist jails and exile, risked their lives more than once, accomplished feats during the October Revolution and civil war, and fearlessly carried out tireless work in the difficult, complex twenties, were crushed, and that some of them had to reconcile themselves to the arrest of their friends and relatives? How can you explain this?

[Solomentsev] I do not think there is any one answer to this. Answers could be given by historians, sociologists, and maybe even psychologists. We can get an idea of how people with strong characters were broken from the great many letters we have received and to which I have already referred. Unlawful methods of inquiry were also used on well-known party and state figures, strong-willed people with firm ideological beliefs, but even they, unable to withstand the prolonged torture which sometimes lasted many months, "confessed" to nonexistent sins.

To their credit, they stood firm, to the limits of human endurance. An example of true courage is provided by the conduct of M.S. Kedrov, a member of the party since 1901 and a Chekist, who, despite the use of sophisticated methods of moral and physical pressure against him, did not confess to being guilty of anything, was vindicated by the courts, and then, on personal directions from Beria, was shot in 1941.

And some other party, state, and military figures conducted themselves with dignity during the interrogations and court hearings and rejected all the unsubstantiated accusations. But the ordeals prepared for them often proved beyond human strength. For example, in the trial of the right-wing Trotskiyist bloc, going through the hellish round of "inquiry," N.N. Krestinskiy fearlessly said to the court: "I do not admit to being guilty. I am not a Trotskiyist. I have never been a member of the right-wing Trotskiyist bloc, of whose existence I was unaware. I also did not commit any of the crimes imputed personally to me, and, in particular, I do not admit to being guilty of connections with German intelligence.... Until my arrest I was a member of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks and am still a member today."

You can imagine the confusion of the court. At the proposal of Prosecutor Vyshinskiy the court immediately adjourned and Krestinskiy's interrogation was postponed until the next day. It is not hard to understand the kind of "processing" to which he was subjected if, at the next court session, he suddenly confessed to being guilty and denied the bold, true words he had spoken the day before.

[PRAVDA] Many readers are interested in the question of S.M. Kirov's murder. Does the commission plan to research this case in full?

[Solomentsev] Yes, it does. Special commissions have already studied this case, but there are still a number of circumstances that should be clarified.

[PRAVDA] Readers ask why the USSR Prosecutor's Office did not submit an appeal in respect to Yagoda?

[Solomentsev] There is reason in this question. Yagoda, a former people's commissar of internal affairs, was an odious character. He went through the trial of the right-wing Trotskiyist bloc. Like others, he confessed his guilt, without being either right wing or left wing. But his indubitable guilt lay elsewhere—he was party to the repressions of the thirties. Under his leadership criminal cases were falsified, which led to the conviction of many innocent citizens. The actual measure of Yagoda's guilt will be established in the process of future work.

[PRAVDA] Mikhail Sergeyevich, what cases does the commission intend to examine immediately and in the longer term? What did the documents of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference introduce into its work?

[Solomentsev] As the press has already reported, the examination ended recently on the cases of the so-called "union of Marxist-Leninists," the "Moscow center," the "anti-Soviet united Trotskiyist-Zinovyevist center," and the "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskiyist center." The defendants who stood trial were judicially rehabilitated. At present the Party Control Committee is examining documents concerning the party-membership [partiynost] of these people. In the immediate future material will be examined on the cases of the "Workers' Opposition," the "Leningrad counterrevolutionary Zinovyevist group comprising Safarov, Zalutskiy, and others," and also a whole group of other trials.

At the party conference a great deal of attention was given to questions connected with increasing the party's spiritual and moral prestige, its revolutionary character, and its ability to be the political vanguard of society. There was talk of the moral cleansing of society and of completing the work under way to rehabilitate persons who were illegally convicted and expelled from the party. The party conference instructions were a fresh and additional stimulus to further improving and extending the work of our commission as well.

Supreme Soviet Reverses Deprivation of Orders

LD1908130888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] We received a report today that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has rescinded decisions of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR and decrees of the Presidium of the country's Supreme Soviet in the section on the deprivation of USSR orders to Comrades Bulanov, Ikramov, Rakovskiy, Razengolts, Rykov, and Sharangovich in connection with the suspension of the cases against them in the absence of corpus delicti.

Removed Library Books Available on Request

PM1808153788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[P. Gutiontov article: "No Additions to 'Special Stocks' Expected"]

[Text] On 17 August our newspaper carried a "letter not for publication" from I. Zavgorodnyaya, a Crimean Oblast reader. In it the writer, a city library employee, expressed her viewpoint on an instruction received to remove from open access books by Brezhnev, Grishin, Suslov, Chernenko, and other politicians of the "stagnation period." "Will this not mean," the reader asks the question, "that while giving access to archive materials which are 50 years old we are forming new 'blank spots' in our quite recent history?"

I. Zavgorodnyaya's letter attracted the attention of our colleagues at Britain's REUTER agency. The very next day the agency's Moscow correspondent devoted a commentary to it, which, incidentally, was exactly four times

as long as the text being commented on. We are grateful for the attention, particularly as the REUTER correspondent made a very flattering assessment of our rubric, calling it "extremely popular." True, there were some inaccuracies, but that is by the by....

But it is probably worth adding a few pertinent words. To amplify and add to the reader's letter. We were told at the USSR Ministry of Culture's Library Affairs Administration that it is not a question of removing works by former leaders. It is another matter that the reader hardly needs hundreds of copies of "Malaya Zemlya" or "Rebirth" on the permanent display shelves, and there will hardly be a huge line forming for a book of K.U. Chernenko's speeches. Today approximately 40 percent of library stocks are inactive because storerooms are overloaded, and it is an impermissible luxury to keep on the shelves an incredible amount of literature for which there is no demand. But all these books relegated to "remote shelves" and "works" by state and party figures dismissed from their posts (Kunayev, for example) will be issued to readers on first request without any further ado or special applications.

I. Zavgorodnyaya is right: History can be neither touched up nor adorned. It is possible only to learn from it.

Fate of Lithuanian 'Political' Prisoner Noted
PM1808105688 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 33, 13-19 Aug 88 (Signed to Press 11 Aug) p 2

[A. Norkunas response to reader's letter: "Foreign 'Voices'"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] The radio stations have recently been mentioning the name of Grazhulis again. What has actually happened to him? A. Petronis, Vilnius.

[Norkunas] Despite the fact that 29-year-old Pyatras Grazhulis has for a long time been calling himself a "human rights campaigner," the radio stations did not mention him. But a metamorphosis took place quite recently. Radio Liberty reported that 34 American senators called on the Soviet authorities to free the Lithuanian "political prisoner Pyatras Grazhulis." Otherwise, the Radio Liberty report said, it will have a negative effect on Soviet-American relations.

What has happened to Grazhulis, watchman at the Sasiavskiy church located on the territory of Kapsukskiy Rayon in the Lithuanian SSR, so that American senators worry about him and his future fate could influence the development of Soviet-American relations? For what "political" convictions is the man suffering?

Grazhulis, like many of his age group, was summoned to the 3-monthly military training sessions. But he did not appear at the assembly point and was in hiding for some time. Then, evidently deciding to take this convenient opportunity to win fame in the West, Grazhulis appeared at the recruiting office and ostentatiously refused to attend the training sessions and rejected his military card.

Naturally, materials on this episode were sent by the rayon military recruitment office to the prosecutor's office in Kapsukas City, and criminal proceedings were instituted against Grazhulis in accordance with Article 211 of the Lithuanian SSR Criminal Code. The trial took place on 2 February 1988 and sentenced reservist Grazhulis to 10 months' imprisonment for evading training sessions.

'True Nature' of 'Political' Prisoners Viewed
PM1908143088 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, 20-26 Aug 88 (Signed to Press 18 Aug 88) p 5

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The USSR KGB Reports and Comments": "The Truth Is This"]

[Text] Despite numerous assertions by Western Sovietologists, there is no one serving a sentence for their political convictions in the Soviet Union. There is, however, a certain category of citizens sentenced for committing highly dangerous state crimes. As of August 1988, the number of people serving sentences in places of imprisonment for anti-Soviet, antistate activity is nine, and the same number are in exile. In three of these cases, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is currently examining the question of early release.

So who are these people?

Take, for instance, citizen N.A. Gorbal, formerly an elevator repair man with a Kiev repair and cosntruction administration. In 1971 he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 years' exile for antistate activity. But he did not learn his lesson. After his release, Gorbal again came before the courts, for attempted rape. The result: 5 years' imprisonment. While serving his sentence in a corrective labor colony, he prepared and disseminated materials calling for armed struggle against the existing system in the USSR, for which in 1985 he was deemed to be a highly dangerous recidivist and received a further sentence: 8 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

G.F. Nichiporenko, who is in exile, and who was in the past a qualified specialist and engineer, prepared and sent to various newspapers and journals anonymous messages containing anti-Soviet appeals. He was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

N.Ye. Boyko began his "career" in the Great Patriotic War, as a guard at the "Simens" concentration camp for prisoners of war. After 1945 he was deservedly punished for treason. After serving his sentence, he embarked on a path of direct confrontation with the law. Under cover of religious dogmaticism, he pursued antistate activity, for

which he was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment in 1980. While serving his sentence, he incited his fellow convicts to disobey the demands of the colony administration and called on them to violate the regime. He was given a further sentence for his actions.

That is the true nature of those whom the West tries to represent as "innocent victims of Soviet totalitarianism."

Katusev Interviewed on Sumgait Investigation
LD1808170488 Moscow TASS in English 1612 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—An investigation into the mass disturbances in Sumgait late in February this year in which 32 people were killed is continuing in that big industrial centre of the Soviet transcaucasian republic of Azerbaijan.

A group of experienced investigators, criminal experts, physicians and psychologists is now in Sumgait to conduct a thorough analysis of the February events. A number of trials have already been held.

Aleksandr Katusev, deputy prosecutor-general of the USSR, recalled in a TASS interview that the Sumgait developments were closely connected with the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region.

The mass disorders that were provoked in the region on February 22 by nationalist elements heightened the situation in Sumgait.

"It is absolutely clear now that the disorders in the city were initiated by hooligans who took advantage of the extremely tense atmosphere, running emotions and various rumours around the demands for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region's accession to Armenia.

"Unstable, immature people and youngsters were drawn into the unlawful actions."

32 people died in the clashes, the number comprises 26 Armenians and six Azerbaijanis. About 200 flats were vandalised. More than 50 consumer service facilities were destroyed or burned down.

Wild mobs hurled stones at troops and militiamen. More than a hundred Interior Ministry officers and troops suffered injuries of various gravity.

On the behaviour of several party and local government officials in the city, who in fact lost control over the situation, Katusev observed that it was assessed by the Central Committee of Azerbaijan's Communist Party.

The first secretary of the Sumgait City Party Committee, Muslim-Zade, was relieved of his duties and expelled from the Communist Party. Other high-ranking functionaries of the party committee and the Executive Committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies were strictly disciplined for inaction, lack of initiative and inefficiency.

Militia officers were no better, said the deputy prosecutor-general.

To curb the disturbances, units of the USSR Defence Ministry and troops of the USSR Ministry for Internal Affairs had to be sent to the city. As already reported, the prosecutor's office had to institute criminal proceedings against militiamen who were negligent in the performance of their official duties.

Katusev said that the investigation was hindered by various hoaxes concerning the "Sumgait affair." Specifically, rumours were being circulated that ahead of the mass disturbances, "hit lists" of Armenians had been compiled in the city.

It is also rumoured that several factories were producing metal rods and other articles to be used as weapons and that post-office employees disconnected the telephones in flats owned by Armenians.

"None of these rumors has proved to be correct," Katusev pointed out.

Recalling that it was decided to conduct several trials in the courts of the Russian Federation to ensure maximum objectivity, Katusev said that the USSR Supreme Court will determine the jurisdiction of each specific case.

The prosecutor's office is taking measures to intensify the investigation as far as possible. 19 lawsuits against 29 people have already been sent to court.

"All the wrong-doers must receive punishment they deserve," he added.

Nagorno-Karabakh Raykom Official Interviewed
LD1808222588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report from Nagorno-Karabakh by "special" correspondent V. Pidchenko—recorded]

[Text] [V. Pidchencko] "Nagorno-Karabakh Should Prosper" is the title of an interview with Comrade Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom, carried in a local oblast newspaper. In particular, it has the following words, I quote: Everything should be within the limits of what is allowed, what is reasonable, and on a democratic basis; everything should be carried out in good measure. I believe that we have stepped over the limit in the past few months. [video

shows Pidchenko in a town square, then closes in on the newspaper which he has in his hands. He quotes from an underlined passage containing reply of Pogosyan to a correspondent's question. However, he omits the beginning of the underlined passage which reads: "G. Pogosyan: The strike, naturally, is also a form of expressing protest, desires, and demands."]

Well indeed, according to the most conservative estimates the unprecedented strike in Nagorno-Karabakh has resulted in many dozens of millions of rubles of damage to the state. Only one rayon in the oblast, Shushinskiy, has been working nonstop throughout these months.

Was it not because the bulk of the population in your rayon is Azeri? [video shows Pidchenko interviewing the first secretary of Shushinskiy Raykom, N.A. Gadzhiyev]

[N.A. Gadzhiyev] No. Azeris, Armenians, and Russians all live and work in our rayon. They... [Gadzhiyev changes thought] everything was all right before the events, and now everything is still all right. They are working and living together. Apart from that, our rayon is very near the oblast center [Stepanakert]. The labor rhythm here was not interrupted during the events. There were even individual days when Azeris, Armenians, and Russian comrades all worked on Saturdays and Sundays.

[Pidchenko] That is, overtime as well.

[Gadzhiyev] Yes, overtime as well. We have a health center functioning here. Azeris and Armenians, Ukrainians, Russians, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and people of other nationalities all come here.

[Pidchenko] It is still working, right?

[Gadzhiyev] It continues working even now. Speaking of how to normalize the situation in the oblast quickly, there is a short answer, I believe: It is necessary to fulfill the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet on Nagorno-Karabakh. That applies to Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and Russians, because our Soviet laws apply to all in equal measure. Apart from that, those who do not fulfill decisions of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet—such actions should be regarded as antistate activities. Naturally, we will continue working, we will continue educational work among the public. I believe that we—Azeris and Armenians—must live together, and in the future we will live...

[Pidchenko, interrupting] But what was the role of your party organization here, how did you manage to check that upsurge, that onslaught, to let some steam out, as they say? Your situation is the best around.

[Gadzhiyev] Yes. We, in order to normalize the situation, so that there would be no events; there has indeed not been a single serious incident in our rayon over this period. [sentence as heard] To achieve that end, we mobilized activists, Communists from among the ethnic population, sending them directly to places where they carried out specific work, internationalist work, conducted individual conversations with people, clarified the essence of the decisions of the party and the government, of the address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. What it boils down to, in what way we should work.... That is why Azeris, Armenians, and Russians have been all sharing the stance of the state, of the party.

Writer Reviews, Ponders Nagorno-Karabakh Events
PM1808145188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Aug 88 p 13

[Aleksandr Prokhanov article: "I Was in Stepanakert...."]

[Text] For us, a centilingual and centidimensional people with our history, former suffering, and our own view of the cosmos, the soul, and the whole wide world, there is only one common road—truly scientific socialism....

I.

The country is in the midst of restructuring. It is rushing, arguing, acting, removing poisons from itself, revealing abscesses, and treating fractures and dislocations. This restructuring drama—whose essence is to ensure that the entire organism, the entire country as a whole, and the entire state as a whole grow stronger, having been healed in every cell and blood vessel—has been taking place in every town, kray, and far-flung corner. The state has not been rocked or weakened but filled with new power in its fundamental moral and social values.

Then suddenly in this complex and creation-orientated work there was an explosion of diseased dissension between two neighbors—Azerbaijan and Armenia—dissension in which a part was played by what seemed to be purely academic disputes about historical and ethnographic issues but which suddenly, following mysterious laws, turned into hatred, bloodshed, strikes, the merciless exploitation of restructuring, and the senseless loss of its first hard-won fruits.

It was important for me to urgently understand the nature of this calamity. And after discussing the matter in Moscow with "theoreticians"—Azerbaijani and Armenian artists and economists whom I respect and whose recent works and ideas have become part of our common state melting pot, out of which everyone is now trying to pick and choose for themselves—I flew unconvinced and confused to Yerevan.

Yerevan was like a huge agitated beehive. There were swarming crowds. Masses of people. Assemblies that gather in a trice. Two or three people would assemble and they would immediately be joined by another 10—the human mass moves, closes up, opens out, and splits into separate clusters, each with their own attractions, their own passions, and their own ideas. And then there

would be a whistling malleable mass of people in a square—there would be some kind of slogans, some kind of pictures, and some kind of news. From mouth to mouth and from eye to eye. There were flashes of blue. The city was a huge retort in which unprecedented fermentation was taking place under pressure and high temperature. Either a crystal would form or the fragile flask would shatter into smithereens.

I tried to understand and get a handle on this unknown and previously unimaginable process. Its structure, plan, initial promptings, set aims, and the indirect results overshadowing its goal. The good intentions, the taste of catastrophe, the sense of truth, the howls of pain. The entire complex social cybernetics, the plasma of national feelings.

I could not understand. I lacked the experience and an original approach. An intellectual quite seriously called for Armenia to develop its own atom bomb and defend itself against Turkey and Azerbaijan. Another called on the nation to declare an all-out hunger strike until Karabakh becomes Armenian. Another called for the victims of Sumgait to be avenged. Yet another demanded that Moscow show immediate solidarity with the Armenians or Armenia will stop supplies of something. Another was angry because the strategic alliance since the time of Peter I between Christian Armenia and Christian Russian was crumbling and collapsing....

There was a rally near the book depository called by "Karabakh"—there were thousands of raised hands, screaming and shouting, stone ravines filled with a seething crowd. Armored personnel carriers [APC's] carrying soldiers were stationed along the road to the airport, checking cars and confiscating hatchets, stakes, and skewers. What were these—equipment for making shashlyks? Or something else? There were soldiers with transparent shields and rubber billies. Billies to be used against whom? The intellectuals emotionally inciting the crowd? Or the young unshaven guys in black shirts bad-mouthing the soldiers and the militia? A plastic shield had been cracked by a rock. There were the tired blue eyes of a soldier standing right in the sun.

My meetings in Yerevan with Armenian writers, cabdrivers, raykom secretaries, Afghan veterans, MVD officers, and patrols of soldiers did not clarify the picture for me but merely confused me and gave me a sense of chaos in which there were a few truths and a few incompatible, mutually destructive positions in which the main thing—our common all-union cause and nationwide brotherhood—was suffering. Fleeing this chaos, I flew to Stepanakert, where a vibration had started that shook the two neighboring republics, painfully affected Moscow, and sent out shock waves across the entire state and further afield, into the outside world.

II.

In Stepanakert I met with the leaders of the movement—those who had been thrust to the fore by the people, the interethnic drama, and the logic of this agonizing, unique process. My initial prejudice was replaced by an understanding of their contradictory development and a realization of their personal political and philosophical drama, within which they had completed and were completing their ideological maturation—from local provincial patriotism to a pan-Armenian, pannational concept and, overcoming it, were moving toward a state understanding and a state vision via crisis, blindness, and blood.

Here briefly is the progress of the Karabakh events as I saw them in conversations, videos, and in reading diaries and documents.

...The Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute over these Karabakh uplands is a long-standing historical phenomenon. It is told by the ruins of the fortress between Agdam, an Azerbaijani stronghold, and Askeran, an Armenian settlement. Between outbursts of overt hostility, dissension smoldered at an everyday level—in gossip, backbiting, stallholder rivalry, arguments between drivers at filling stations, and fights between village kids.

But there were also more serious motives. Stepanakert's residents were weighed down by a rigid bureaucracy. There were not enough books printed in Armenian. Cultural exchange with Armenia was prevented. Any appointment to the most trivial office had to be cleared with Baku. The oblast was separated from the Armenian border by a narrow strip populated by Azerbaijanis where roads would stop suddenly or bridges would be down, and it was often harder to get to nearby Armenia by plane or car than via distant Baku. This rigid Baku filter was seen by the intelligentsia, economic managers, and party members as arbitrariness and a desire to impose assimilation.

Dissatisfaction was building up—the problem was quietly discussed at the dinner table or behind the closed doors of offices, in the same way that until recently problems had been discussed in undertones and behind closed doors in every part of the country. A lake was being polluted somewhere. An old church was being destroyed. A city's leading lights were bribe-takers. Somewhere else bureaucrats were killing a good idea. The country discussed its problems under its breath, not daring to raise its voice.

Glasnost has changed society's acoustics. Many things have suddenly become audible. In Russia something unheard-of happened—a people's assembly canceled the river diversion project and delayed the construction of monster-monuments. In Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan sores were lanced—the nations' leaders were discredited. These trends, fostered by restructuring, also affected Stepanakert.

The first petitioners, a people's delegation, were sent to Moscow like lambs to the slaughter. The delegates thought they would not return and would be arrested. They were seen off like martyrs—lambs to be sacrificed on the altar of the Armenian idea. The delegates returned safely. Moscow had listened to them, tried to understand them, and had given no answer. And how could it have—straight off, at the first request! Meanwhile, events continued to develop.

The problem of official party, soviet, and trade union leaders arose. Many functionaries, submitting to Baku, routinely carried out its official will. They came into conflict with people's assemblies. People stopped listening to them, drove them from platforms, whistled them down, and made them leave auditoriums. Those who yesterday had been omnipotent, cushioned from everyday cares by a majestic office building and a militiaman at the entrance, and accustomed to being obeyed at the merest word or glance, had suddenly started losing power. The levers and buttons that they were used to pressing had disappeared.

Some of them, hanging tough and getting scared, continued using threats and force. ("Everyone put their party cards on the table!" one of them shouted. "You'll be hauled up in front of the organs!" threatened another). They were kicked out. People turned their backs on them. Others—between "the people and the authorities"—tried to draw closer to people. While retaining their former official status, they became unofficial leaders. A unique process took place: the splintering and split of official structures. The drama of power.

The separate meetings and small centers of "mutiny" started merging and spilling out of Red Corners, clubs, and conference halls onto the streets. Rallies and processions started. Five, ten, and twenty thousand. Slogans about restructuring. Slogans about national autonomy. Slogans about social justice. A new phase of the movement, the rally phase, started. Initially things went by the book and were legal. Plants and shops were working. Order was maintained.

A small spontaneous structure with its own leaders and front men started emerging from this hotbed. Its own "soviets" and its own "people's power."

As a rule, these were well-known people respected in the city, those who really help the people in their everyday needs. An eminent surgeon. Or a plant party committee secretary. Or a construction administration chief. Or an actress. They were joined by some official leaders who had made their own choice.

The previous leaders, ensconced in their offices, fearful of popular rallies, and in control of the telephone lines, special transportation, and the special services, were not in control of the situation. The new leaders enjoyed national recognition. A dyarchy began.

They—technicians, artists, physicians—had suddenly become politicians. The burden of administration had fallen on them. They started reading Lenin avidly and studying the Constitution, seeking justification for their aspirations and support for their actions. As one of them admitted, they had suddenly become far more intellectual. They equipped themselves with theory in endless arguments with their own people and outsiders. It was then that the idea was first mooted to convene a session of the oblast soviet and make a constitutional—as it seemed to them—demand for the right of secession.

The events of subsequent days were perfectly legal and intoxicating in their popular creative inspiration. Invitations were sent out to deputies. Deputies from rural areas, getting through militia checkpoints and taking roundabout routes, assembled in the city. The Baku leader who flew in made threats and appealed for the session to be abandoned, but he was whistled down and left the auditorium. There was a crowd in the central square. It demanded that the session open. The session was held. A vote was taken. An appeal was adopted for two Supreme Soviets—in Yerevan and Baku—with a request to be separated from Azerbaijan and merged with Armenia. Then suddenly, breaking the peaceful, legal development, things took a cruel turn. Because for each action, as is well known, there is a reaction. And all the more so in such an unusually sensitive sphere as ethnic relations.

The first harbingers of misfortune were the trucks and buses heading for Stepanakert from neighboring Azerbaijani areas. They were smashed by rocks, torn to pieces, and their drivers and passengers were beaten up. They were followed by a crowd from the Azerbaijani town of Agdam—some armed with hunting rifles, others with iron bars and clubs—enraged at the Armenians' decision, heading for Stepanakert "to defend the republic's territory" and the inviolability of the constitutional border.

No, this was not a general Azerbaijani impulse. The settlement's old men, women, and respected people tried to stop the madmen and hooligans and dissuade them. They were not heeded and were rejected.

Clearly, perfidious forces who discerned an advantage in interethnic enmity were getting involved in these blind events on both sides. This enmity diverts a people away from social creativity, renewal, and the struggle against corruption and crime. Corrupt leaders secretly provoked the crowd.

The crowd swept aside the militia cordons, overturned vehicles, and was stopped at the settlement of Askeran, halfway to Stepanakert, by APC's and an opposing crowd armed with rifles and chains. Armenian drivers in Stepanakert had already started up their Kamaz trucks and were prepared to drive them into the "invaders."

There were two "armies." A tragedy resulted: Two people were killed and around 50 injured. The first blood was spilled. "Constitutional theory," "political people's power," and the "intellectualization of leaders" turned into carnage and bloodshed.

Here, at this point, the Stepanakert leaders should have come to their senses. Had they been experienced politicians, had they known the law of the escalation of events, had they turned for advice and help to other authorities not involved in the quarrel, everything might have been different. There would not have been the primitive mutual body count of the victims, from today, yesterday, and ancient history, victims real and imaginary, linked with historical statistics and sick mythicizing, the instant destructive work of wounded national instincts rendering meaningless the teachings of visionaries, sages, and prophets about love, good-neighborliness, and brotherhood. Such a sobering-up did not occur. The leaders and intellectuals were no better than the agitated mob and were steeped in its inflamed, sick energy.

All this was tragically reflected in Sumgait in a terrible, disgusting bloodbath with arson, rape, the introduction of combat vehicles and a curfew, and the funerals of 32 Sumgait citizens.

"Third parties" had already become seriously involved in the national passions. Skillful cruel hands stoked the tragedy and involved a political mafia in the Karabakh process.

God forbid the Azerbaijani people be found guilty of the Sumgait tragedy. Those accusations are false, irresponsible, and absurd. I talked with Azerbaijani residents of Sumgait who risked their own lives to hide Armenians on that terrible night, I talked with an Azerbaijani soldier who carried Armenian women and children from the surrounding area in his APC. The actions were those of hooligans and animals, not people. The actions were those of political criminals who still await their just desserts [o kotorykh yeshche skazhet nam pravosudiye].

In Stepanakert a new step was taken in the development of the conflict: Strikes began. After one night rally people simply did not disperse from the square in the morning but continued their rallies rather than going to work. A strike that lasted for many months, with brief breaks, had started and was reflected in any event in the two republics, in Moscow, abroad, or in any television or radio broadcast. There were constant day and night rallies for many months.

So, a strike is indeed a powerful way of making yourself heard. If Armenia goes on strike, assembly lines in various parts of the country grind to a halt, earnings are lost, and production plans and the prosperity of many people and enterprises are thwarted. Discontent should increase nationwide along with the pressure on the central authorities, and that, so the strikers thought, would accelerate the attainment of their goal.

However, it was the strikes that sharply turned the country's public opinion away from Karabakh. The common state and national ethics of most of our citizens condemned the Karabakh people's local egoism, which had hit hard at restructuring itself—our main asset on which we are staking our greatest hopes. This change in public sentiment should have been sensed here. It was, but not straightaway.

There were bonfires in the square at night. And roaming flashlights. Bullhorn speeches and a constant stream of speakers. There were portable televisions in the crowd reporting from Moscow that all was quiet in Stepanakert. There were people's patrols guarding the approaches to the city. There were sides of beef sent in from neighboring sovkhozes. People were voluntarily refraining from drink. There was generous financial support for the strikers from Armenia. And there were the troops who had flooded into the city. Massacres and fights were expected.

During this period the "Stepanakert leaders" went through a kind of evolution in their views. Joyful euphoria was replaced by dismay and a sense sometimes of embitterment and sometimes of stoicism. Doubts emerged. They could see that their seemingly noble actions had led to Sumgait and Agdam, to strikes; they had detonated in Armenia, leaving the republic up in arms, plunging it into an uncontrollable, explosive chaos, halting the renewal process, and protecting corruption from exposure. The entire outside world was watching Karabakh closely and keenly, and everyone had their own motives and ideas.

The people of Stepanakert were tired and exhausted by these months of debilitating confrontation. Some people threw themselves from balconies. Others poisoned themselves with spirits. Breakdowns and neuroses started. Children, housewives, domestic budgets, and the city and oblast economy suffered.

The most farsighted people started realizing that extremism, stubbornness, and egoism were leading more and more definitely to a catastrophe. The state, having proclaimed restructuring, glasnost, democracy, and free expression, received in response uncontrollable chaos, horrors, and increased mafia activity, and was faced with a need to use force—as had already happened in Sumgait and during the riots at Zvartnots Airport.

This terrible dialectic started getting through to the inflamed minds of the Karabakh leaders and the oblast inhabitants. They tried looking at the problem with the eyes of statesmen and the eyes of the country, whose destiny and policies they had so intemperately put at risk without knowing what they were doing.

No, this was not an instantaneous process and was by no means over. It had built up strongly as a result of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decision. This decision made it possible to resolve the crisis and clear away the obstacles of contradictions.

People were persuaded and went back to work. The imminent report-and-election conferences and new elections to the soviets will see the replacement of the old compromised cadres. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium have sent their representative to Nagorno-Karabakh. Emotions are being replaced by work to renew the economy, culture, and health care.

It seems (I say that almost superstitiously) that the open phase of the Stepanakert crisis is over and has started taking on controllable features. And now at night the troops with blue lamps are already leaving the Stepanakert area. The sinusoid of the explosion, having reached its greatest amplitude, has started to diminish. And now analysts must thoroughly study the oscillogram of the explosion that took place.

III.

Clearly, and even probably, there can be other models for what happened. In Yerevan, Baku, or Moscow. In the minds of people who have assessed what happened. But this is my model. The events in Stepanakert were a kind of testing ground for restructuring that revealed a great many phenomena which will have to be thoroughly studied and answered in a proper, humanitarian, political, and legal way, and we must build our legal state—and do so forthwith—by utilizing this tragedy and instructive experience.

A great deal of the events that took place might have been avoided if the decrepit, geriatric, sluggish, and estranged Armenian and Azerbaijani structures incapable of directing the economy, culture, and social life had been renewed in good time. But people in Stepanakert, despairing of having their needs satisfied by the former leadership, influenced it from below. The new people's leaders were formidable competition for the bureaucrats, and structures had to be given a new lease of life. Ineffective workers are being thrown out and the ground is being prepared for new and effective workers. Through their leaders the people become part of the structures, bring their own problems to them, eradicate alienation, and shoulder the burden of responsibility. And in this sense they save the structures. Restructuring does not break or eradicate structures, leading to destructive chaos; rather, it revives them and makes them work.

The new approaches produced by restructuring would clearly have worked in Karabakh if the problem that had come to the fore had been anything but a nationalities problem. But the nationalities question—largely enigmatic, secret, unresearched, and part of empirical intuitive practice rather than science—is a problem which burst onto the world scene like the explosion at Chernobyl's No 4 unit, produced a destructive reaction, and started spreading in a way liable to torpedo the most complex constructions of our multiracial state, whose structure quite frankly is made up of a number of ramshackle elements that are now unsuitable. It turned out that restructuring, while proclaiming spiritual pluralism, including national pluralism, does not today possess ready-made renewed devices capable of detecting this sudden outburst and channeling it into work and creativity. It turned out to be impossible to influence this outburst other than by force and in an authoritarian, "nonrestructuring" manner. At Chernobyl an army covered in protective suits and breathing gear put out the fires and sealed off any uranium discharges. In Sumgait an army protected women and children from the wild mob and put out house fires. Since then this "restructuring" process—as it had initially seemed to many people—started to pose a danger to restructuring itself, threatening to take restructuring hostage.

This is what the mafia—Armenian, Azerbaijani, and probably Muscovite too—was after. Those for whom restructuring promises destruction, loss of power, trial, and nationwide shame, as was the case in Alma-Ata, Tashkent, and Krasnodar. Those who have long introduced their electrodes into the process, supporting instability and chaos. Following whose plans and at whose command? That still has to be investigated.

The stability that has been achieved today—at the price of human suffering, material losses, and slipping nerves and morale—must be immediately used to create a legal structure which, in the event of a repetition of the explosion, would detect the protuberance and control it. The creation of such a legal structure should be open and consonant with the problem itself. There is no room here for amateur activity, but there is scope for science—ethnographers, demographers, lawyers, historians, managers, sociologists, poets, and all wise people.

The way out of the Karabakh drama is not to be afraid of it, not to slow restructuring down, but to push ahead with it, to move forward purposefully, to resolutely renew cadres, and to improve the political system.

And finally. The state position and the state view should be presented as a coordinate in all calculations in these internecine quarrels between current and, possibly, future neighbors. Centralism conceived in a nontotalitarian way, acting as a wise arbiter, and looking not just at the Caucasian mountains but at the Carpathians, the Pamirs, the Urals, and the entire vast expanses of the state is a centralism that bears in mind the interests and the good of all socialist nations and cannot be shaken.

IV.

Today it is absolutely clear that the concepts "nation," "people," "national sense," and "national awareness" are not academic abstractions but a reality which we use in the way physicists use the concept "energy." Physicists rely on the theory of energies, on the properties and the ability of one form to be transformed into another. They create machines and motors and carry out complex engineering on the basis of these theories. National energy should be studied with the same care, honesty,

and multidimensionality so as to build complex social engines powering us to progress rather than simplistic monsters scared of being overloaded.

We had a tough encounter with the phenomenon of the crowd. This is a social and psychological phenomenon which has been little studied, with its neuralgia, collective ethics, possible collective insanity, and tendency toward mythicizing, riot, and mass hypnosis and paralysis. The crowd becomes a social subject, and sensible humane reactions should be worked out both within it by those comprising it and by those whom it attacks.

Has the press always been sensitive and correct during the period of mass lunacy? Have its actions always been motivated not only by the aims of politics and information, but by psychology? As happened during recent events, it has often not stifled but has whipped up passions through its trivial reservations, inaccuracy, and silences, which were immediately upped a notch and multiplied by the masses' inflamed imagination.

And, of course, we realized quite obviously yet again that we, centilingual and centidimensional people each with our own history, our own past sufferings, and our own views of the cosmos, the soul, and the whole world, we who are so different, have a single common way, a single unifying integral. And this is socialism, truly scientific and wide-ranging socialism extending upward and sideways, in which each people and each national god and angel have their own space, their own harmonies, and their own scope to take wing under the general socialist sky that unites us.

However, it is too early to say that the Karabakh chapter is closed. Yerevan is seething, rallies are being held, and madness is to be heard in different speeches alongside the book depository. And for every action, I repeat, there is a reaction....

Kazakhstan Leader Cited on Nationalities Issue

LD1808140188 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1123 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Aug (TASS)—"Our task is not to confine ourselves just to proclaiming equal rights for every nation and ethnic group, but actually to ensure that equality is attained for them in reality and to resolve comprehensively all the social, economic, and cultural problems which occur," stated Gennadiy Kolbin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan (Soviet Asian republic), in an interview with TASS.

He recalled that serious errors and failures in implementing the party's nationalities policy in Kazakhstan led in December 1986 to open antisocial actions. The campaign against manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and parochialism had by that time been brought to naught; cadres were frequently selected according to their clan or tribe, or according to personal allegiance. All this could not fail to affect the moral and psychological climate in the most pernicious way.

Problems of national relations and relations among nationalities do not immediately come to the surface; they pile up waiting to be solved, Kolbin added. Take, for instance, some other periods of our history being passed over in silence; a whole number of rayons and oblasts where patriarchal attitudes predominated among the leaders, where foundations of modern industry failed to be laid, where a very acute shortage of kindergartens, schools, and land clubs was experienced, lagging behind.

In an atmosphere of complacency, an atmosphere in which everything was permitted, an atmosphere of thoughtless consumerism, there emerged a threat to the Aral Sea and the Lake Balkhash, affecting the vital interests of not only the Kazakhstan people but also the peoples from the neighboring republics.

To anticipate and foresee potentially dangerous factors which can offend the national sensibilities means to implement a high degree of culture of relations among nationalities, both in terms of individual people and large collectives.

There is yet another important factor. We take it as a rule of ours not to fear discussions, but to encourage them in every way, to take part in them, if, of course, the form of expression and the content of views do not run counter to our laws and norms of life within a civilized community, emphasized the leader of the republican Communist Party. Inherent in the discussion itself is an element of creativity and construction. Critical appraisals of what has been achieved give momentum to transformations. That is why the republican party organization has taken a firm course aimed at glasnost and openness in discussing problems that arise, at a collective working out of the optimal solutions, at a conscious unification of all creative forces along the path of restructuring and renewing our society.

Moldavian Light Industry Ministry Disbanded

LD1908144788 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Kishinev August 19 TASS—The Ministry of the Light Industry of the Soviet Republic of Moldavia has come up with proposal on its self-disbandment to the Concil of Ministers of Moldavia. The government supported the proposal. The ministry with the industrial enterprise subordinate to it will be replaced by a concern with an economic management body elected in a democratic way. The wages of its staff will come from the deductions of the industrial enterprises, and their amount will depend on the effectiveness of the managers' performance.

"The Ministry of the Light Industry which adopted the cost-accounting and self-financing system earlier than others brought it to its logical end", Ivan Kalin, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Moldavia, pointed out commenting on the situation. "A new system of economic management is being introduced in the republic. The number of ministries and organizations will be reduced by one third by the end of the year, while their personnel will be reduced by half. A new system of the management of the agri-industrial complex is also being developed. Farms themselves will form their economic management bodies on a democratic basis and will work without the interference of higher bodies".

The state bodies, he continued, will reserve for themselves the functions of overall strategic control over the economy and the maintenance of the proportional character of economic, social and cultural development. A democratic nature of decision-making, glasnost and due consideration for public opinion are becoming indispensable conditions in the work of all the sections of state bodies.

According to Ivan Kalin, a lot of control functions that were earlier within the competence of the Council of Ministers were turned over to the local Soviets, industrial enterprises and cooperatives. A special government commission is revising and lifting obsolete instructions. 43,000 instructions of separate organizations were revised this year of which 30,000 were lifted because they run counter to the laws on the state enterprise and on cooperation. Some 600 government resolutions on economic issues were found to be invalid.

Streamlining of Moscow City Administration

PM1808104388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with Ye.I. Bystrov, first deputy chairman of Moscow Gorispolkom, conducted by own correspondent A. Belikov under the "News Panorama" rubric: "Structure of Moscow Gorispolkom Changing"; date and place not given]

[Text] A session of the Moscow City Soviet has confirmed a decision on reorganizing the management structure of the capital's gorispolkom.

Ye.I. Bystrov, first deputy chairman of the Mosgorispolkom, told your newspaper correspondent:

"The management structure prevailing in the past was unduly unwieldy and was to a considerable extent out of line with the present-day scale of the national economic complex of the city and with the tasks set by restructuring.

"It has been resolved to combine organizationally sectors having close economic, production, and technical ties in special formations provisionally called complexes. They are headed by deputy chairmen of Moscow Gorispolkom. There are eight such complexes: a planning and economic complex, a construction and architecture complex, an agro-industrial complex, a complex for trade, consumer services, and installations, a complex to run buildings and installations, a complex for transport, communications, and amenities, a social development complex, and a science and production complex.

"The new overall plan envisages a considerable cutback in management apparatus personnel of 30 percent (this represents 3,370 staff units) and a halving—from 52 to 25—of directly subordinate management bodies—main administrations and departments and other ispolkom subunits. Most sectoral main administrations and other administrations are being reorganized into citywide production associations. They are switching over to economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing and will henceforth operate strictly in line with the Law on the State Enterprise."

[Belikov] "Yevgeniy Ivanovich, please give an example of how some former Moscow gorispolkom main administrations are being reorganized. Construction ones, say...."

[Bystrov] "Until recently we had a Main Administration for Capital Construction, the Moscow City Main Administration for Housing and Civil Construction, the Moscow City Main Administration for Industrial Construction, the Moscow City Main Administration for the Construction of Engineering Installations, the Moscow City Main Administration for Special Installation Work, and the Moscow City Main Administration for the Construction Materials and Parts Industry. A unified Moscow Construction Committee has now been created on their basis. It has three planning and construction associations, two science and production associations, and a city association operating as sole purchaser subordinated to it.

"Other structural formations have also been formed on the same principle. The overall plan was drafted over 18 months or so and is the product of argument and discussion. We are far from regarding it as ideal but do think that it must begin operating, and experience will subsequently suggest the necessary changes."

[Belikov] "The new subunits are obviously being invested with not only independence and considerable rights but also duties. First and foremost, the duty to manage better and more economically and to show greater concern for the needs of the city and its inhabitants. When can we expect the first results?"

[Bystrov] "There is no time for dawdling! All organizational matters will be completed in August. The first signs of the new approach are already visible.

"The Main Administration for the Construction Materials and Parts Industry was one of the former main administrations I mentioned. Its purpose was clear from its title; its role for the industry of Moscow, and not just

that of the capital, was extremely important. All its fellow main administrations made constant demands on it: 'Give us bricks! Give us ceramic tiles! Give us bathroom and toilet fittings and self-adhesive wallpaper!' They themselves, however, would not raise a finger to help with equipment or manpower to build up the capacities of raw material quarries, brick plants, or combines producing building commodities.

"Now that the Moscow Construction Committee has been set up, however, relations have changed literally before our very eyes: A vested interest has now emerged, along with the possibility of retooling construction materials production units.

"In other words, the economic 'levers' for instilling order into Moscow's economic life have been engaged."

Previously 'Secret,' Other Documents on Display

LD1808153888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "120 Minutes" program; video report by unidentified correspondent and interview with V.M. Vaganov, head of the Main Archives Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers; date not given—recorded]

[Text] An exhibition which has opened in Moscow, at the Soviet culture area of the USSR VDNKH, [Main Committee for Exhibition of Developments of the National Economy] is the subject of much interest. Our correspondent reports: [Reporter] This is the "Archives and Restructuring" exhibition, which acquaints us with documents that preserve historical truth.

[Vaganov] Some of the documents have not been put on display for such mass, broad viewing before, or at least only some scientists had access to them. A certain proportion of them have always been secret. Now they are out in the open, and we have made it possible for people to see them, read them, and get to know them—to see these pages of history as well.

[Reporter] The content and nature of the exhibition is shown by the captions: "Restoring the Truth," "Restructuring Is a Necessity," "Names Given Back," "Achievements and Mistakes," "Art Returned to the People." Much is being exhibited for the first time: for example, material connected with the names of Bukharin and Rykov, as well as copies of their articles, photographs, and letters; the scientific works of scientists (?Chayanov) and Vavilov; material relating to the period of the revolution, the collectivization period, and the Patriotic War.

The section "Art Returned to the People" is devoted to the destinies of outstanding poets, composers, artists, and directors of the 20th century. The difficult road to the reader of Pasternak's novel "Dr Zhivago"—here is the page of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA of 1 November 1958 condemning this novel. Alongside is the manuscript of the work and the author's portrait. The central state archive of literature and the arts contains evidence about the difficult lives of Akhmatova and Zoshchenko, and the manuscripts of their works. Vsveolod Meyerkhold—the bright name of an outstanding Soviet director; here there are photos, letters, and press clips. One could stand for hours at every display at this exhibition, reflecting on every document and poring over every photograph. They hold your attention for a long time. Everything here has been done with great respect for history, the facts, and memories.

Nikonov Addresses Conference in Kalinin

'Inter-Farm Cooperation' Noted

LD1208160888 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] Kalinin August 12 TASS—"We are making a radical turn towards the revival and multiplication of the best traits characterising the farmer, towards consolidating the independence of collective and state farms and enhancing their interest in and responsibility for the end results of their work," Viktor Nikonov has pointed out.

The member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was addressing a conference-workshop in the city of Kalinin, 200 kilometres from Moscow.

Nikonov observed that perestroyka, or restructuring, in the countryside had brought forth diverse forms of cooperation and new forms of managing agro-industrial production.

Inter-farm cooperation covering the entire cycle, comprising production, processing, marketing, technical maintenance and scientific studies, was now moving to the foreground.

The process of integration was especially conspicuous in the establishment of agricultural integrated works, firms and amalgamations.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee observed that "a new structure of the agro-industrial complex may develop in the future into a multi-stage cooperative.

It would start with family, unit or team contract collectives grouped into collective or state-run farms and incorporated into regional agro-industrial associations through district associations, agricultural firms or integrated works."

New forms of organisation called for the need to change the structure of collective and state farms. In Nikonov's view, they should become in the near future cooperatives, associations of contract collectives based on cost accounting and operating on a contractual basis with the management of collective and state farms.

Action on Food, Housing Needed

LD1208192088 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 12 Aug 88

[Text] A member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, Viktor Nikonov, has stated the need for urgent action on such vital problems in the country as the housing and food problems and the supplies of goods and services for the population. At a conference of farm workers in the city of Kalinin, north of Moscow, he made special mention of increasing the production and supplies of food products. He also pointed out that progress in farming was best wherever people were actively adopting economic methods of management. Viktor Nikonov said in a not-so-distant future, all government and collective farms would be turned into cooperatives, uniting self-supporting and self-financing teams.

Leningrad 'Pamyat' Activities Deplored

PM1808134288 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 32, 7 Aug 88 p 2

[From the "Letters to the Editor" column: "Still Horrified"]

[Text] Dear Editors,

I am a history teacher from Italy. This is not my first time in Leningrad: In 1983-1984 I did semesters at Leningrad University, and then visited the city in 1985. Now I'm here again. I am very fond of Leningrad and consider it one of the finest cultural centres and most beautiful cities in the world.

Late on July 7, taking a walk around my favourite places in the garden near the Academy of Arts, I saw a meeting of the Pamyat (Memory) Society. A week has passed, and I'm still horrified. I felt as if I'd attended a real fascist meeting of the 1930s, at least, as I visualize them after reading the history books.

The speakers openly spoke about their hatred of Jews, claiming that they were the cause of the Russian people's perdition. It was most painful to see many young people at the meeting. One woman participant, a teacher, bluntly said that she had brought her pupils along. What kind of people will they be when they grow up—these children brought up on such hatred for people of another nationality?

In my country the law forbids the propaganda of hatred for people of any nationality or colour of skin, and I am convinced that the USSR should also have such a law.

Today people in your country are starting to say what they think, and this is fine. But real democracy implies mutual respect among people. I am not a Jew and in general I believe that it is not at all important what nationality one belongs to. Most of all, I was struck by the fact that this meeting took place in a country which had defeated fascism.

Daniela Steila, Leningrad, July 12, 1988.

Daniela Steila sent this letter to MOSCOW NEWS. Simultaneously Valeriy Voskoboynikov, a Leningrad writer, indignant at the meetings staged by Pamyat, decided to write an article for us on this subject. We showed him the letter and this is his reply:

It would be nice if Daniela Steila's letter did not correspond to reality. But, alas, sometimes you feel ashamed about the truth.

It is hard to believe that the heirs to the notorious Black Hundred hold their meetings on Thursdays in the very heart of Leningrad, in the Rumyantsevskiy Garden on Vasilyevskiy Island, between the University and the Academy of Arts. They amplify their arguments with power radio equipment and no longer call themselves a group or association, but the Russian National-Patriotic Front Pamyat—oh yes, a front and nothing short of this.

The first meeting took place a few days before the opening of the party conference. The second—a week later, during the conference, when all of us were listening to every word uttered by the delegates in Moscow.

The third, the one attended by Daniela Steila, took place on July 7. It was then that the Pamyat speakers shouted their calls in relay, as if well-rehearsed. They claimed to be speaking about patriotism and the Russian people's self-awareness, but their orators' tactics reminded me of those used by Black Hundred people. One speaker demanded that it should be forbidden for Russian men and women to marry members of definite alien races. Another called for the immediate deportation of Jews and members of other "alien races" to "their historical motherland". Still another suggested declaring a ruthless war on those who "concealed their ethnic origin under a Russian name". I have cited just some of the more "decent" calls that were made—my hand simply won't reproduce the other obscenities.

Xeroxed leaflets were distributed among those attending the meetings. They contained Pamyat's demands for its immediate legal recognition and special bank account.

What these people said can neither be ignored nor brushed over with an ironic smile as the work of a handful of paranoiacs. But there was more than just a handful. Some, indignant at the goings-on, demanded the floor but it was not given them, others violently applauded every speaker. And there were many silent observers, among them, as I was told, representatives from the regional and district party committees.

I didn't believe this and after the second meeting I phoned S. Babayev, secretary of the Vasileostrovskiy District Party Committee for Propaganda.

"Yes," he confirmed with a heavy sigh, "I was also there. But I was categorically against and I shall work to secure a ban on such meetings through the Executive Committee. There should be no more of them."

I think that the district party committee secretary is right: There is a need to secure a ban on these gatherings. Although, honestly, after our conversation I wondered why in general he must "work to secure" this. Has our Constitution been repealed or the Criminal Code abrogated? After all, they categorically ban any propaganda of national hatred.

I am also suprised by this. Leningraders, indignant at the goings-on at the meetings, witnessed an incomprehensible, even ugly scene. We remember how in the past, in the grave minutes of danger, we were led into action by commissars. Regrettably, those whom we are used to consider "commissars"—responsible party functionaries—merely sancitified the goings-on by their tacit presence. But they, incidentally, were recognized, people looked back at them with hope. Why then did they keep mum?

Moreover, reinforced militia patrols kept watch at the latest meetings. There were not two or three, but several dozen officials in militia uniform. They didn't do anything. One scene was particularly outrageous, when one of the Leningraders raised a poster with the words: "Workers of all lands, unite!" Before the eyes of both militia and "commissars" this poster was snatched out of his hands and torn up, and he himself was immediately pushed back by Pamyat militants. Why did the militia officials so carefully "safeguard" the interests of the sponsors of the meetings?

Why haven't even Leningrad newspapers had their say during the whole month? Aren't such gatherings an arena for political action?

I couldn't help thinking that if the district party committees secretary was "categorically against," then for such meetings to take place one after another there must be some who are "categorically for."

But the meetings continued. On July 7 listeners learned that Black Hundred people, members of the Union of the Russian People, were allegedly "one of Russia's most democratic organizations set up to resist riots in the country."

On July 14, a guest from Moscow, D. Vasilyev, arrived surrounded by bodyguards in black shirts. The fifth meeting took place on July 21. It was informed of a staggering "revelation": the Chernobyl explosion had also been prepared by enemy forces, and two weeks before the blast these forces had allegedly notified the world about this by printing a secret sign in a Novosibirsk newspaper.

I am looking for explanations and cannot find any. Is it possible that a city with great cultural traditions and a high level of education can so easily cede the public rostrum to a group of extremists for the propagation of their shady views? Indeed, we have not yet lost the habit of constantly looking up in expectation of a directive from above. Indeed, many of those present at the meetings get puzzled and indignant, and speak of their pain and shame for their native city. But it is not enough to feel bewildered, or to speak about pain. Without waiting for a command from above, we ourselves must be more vigorous in creating an atmosphere of public non-acceptance of extremism, whatever the shade and hue. Then meetings of this kind will no longer be possible.

Editorial on Role of Grassroots Party Groups

PM1808131388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Party Group. Reports and Elections Under Way in Party's Grass Roots"]

[Text] "There is no vanguard role for Communists in general; it is expressed in specific actions," reads a letter sent to the editorial office by V. Strekalov, party group organizer of the central livestock unit on the "Sulakskiy" Sovkhoz in Tambov Oblast's Umetskiy Rayon. "There are four party members in our party group. And it can honestly be stated that they all work conscientiously and live according to their conscience. This is the moral basis that gives them the right to call others to account, to require them to observe order and discipline and work honestly. We have not resolved any questions without involving the party group. On the contrary, many problems have been raised by Communists themselves. As a result, a harmonious collective has taken shape in the livestock unit. We set the goal, for example, of getting 3,000 kg of milk per cow and kept our word. We will now attain the 4,000 kg mark during the remainder of the 5-year plan. The chief thing is not sit with arms folded and not to blame people higher up or to the sides."

This thought is developed by Z. Babiyenko, foreman at the Yartsevo Piano Factory in Smolensk Oblast. "We started restructuring in the shop with the party group's activity," she says. "The first goal is to overcome inertia in work. To this end we first renounced regimented meetings with empty reports and "establishment" speakers. We began speaking to the point, about painful matters. We noted everything sensible and endeavored to fulfill things on schedule. Hearing Communists' reports on the fulfillment of official duties and the requirements of the party Statutes really made them pull their socks up. They began to set the tone in the life of the collective. I consider the changes taking place in people's awareness very gratifying. Their attitude to work is

changing, they are becoming more active, they no longer wish to tolerate shortcomings, and they are coming out in an increasingly bold and principled manner against things that hinder us."

Such letters convincingly show what a party group can do and where its strength lies. Today, in the course of the reports and elections which have begun, Communists in the party's grass roots are worthily taking a test before society and undergoing strict self-checking.

To judge from local reports, the report and election meetings are mainly being held in a businesslike way, in the spirit of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum. There is, as a rule, a direct, open, and honest party-minded discussion of how every Communist in a party group or shop party organization fulfills his party assignment, what contribution he makes to restructuring, and whether his words about supporting our society's renewal are backed up by the necessary actions.

This, for example, is how the report and election meeting was held in the party group of the core section of the second shop of Moscow Oblast's Balashikha Machine Foundry. The report by party group organizer S. Malashin was devoid of unnecessary eulogies. But, on the other hand, it reflected all the pluses and minuses of the Communists' work over the year and clearly delineated the unresolved problems. And this served as the basis for further sharp debate. Fitter-adjuster V. Chernomyrgin spoke of shortcomings in the training of young workers and proposed improving the work of mentors. Section chief L. Statuyeva noted the poor executive discipline and made a number of suggestions which will make it possible to improve the practice of Communists' reports. Foreman N. Terzin campaigned for close contacts between the party group and Communists in subcontracting shops. In short, the party members truthfully evaluated what has been achieved at this stage of restructuring and what they still have to do.

During the report and election meetings it is important for Communists of party groups and shop party organizations to gear themselves to making a decisive turn toward practical actions and making restructuring more dynamic and effective. This is the most suitable time to put an end to the slow start and to deal the final blow to everything that hinders progress.

Party groups are, in a way, centers of the party's active work with the masses. And no questions must remain outside the Communists' field of view. During the reports and elections they are to discuss questions of the ideological, patriotic, and internationalist training of their comrades, particularly young people, and of fostering a conscientious and creative attitude to work, profound awareness of their duty to society, and implacability toward any manifestations of irresponsibility and red tape.

Being right in the sections where the fate of the plans outlined by the party is specifically decided, party groups can also do a great deal, as the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum resolution "On Reports and Elections in Party Organizations" pointed out, to saturate the market with foodstuffs and high-quality consumer goods, to increase the volumes of housing and sociocultural construction, and to improve trade and the entire services sphere. At report and election meetings party group Communists must clearly determine what must be undertaken for this in practice and formulate measures to ensure the efficient utilization of the collective's potential.

Life convinces us that the militancy of a party group depends to a considerable degree on the person who heads it. Therefore, when electing the party group organizer, decisive significance must be attached not to questionnaire data or relations of friendship, but to the way the Communist copes with his duties, whether he is capable of advancing restructuring not in words but in deeds, whether he knows how to conduct work among the masses and achieve real results, and, finally, whether he possesses lofty moral qualities.

We must not forget in the course of the reports and elections the right granted to party organizations today: the right to submit suggestions on candidacies for a higher party organ. Where do Communists best know each other, if not in the party group? Every one of them undergoes a test of his principledness, competence, and political maturity before the eyes of his comrades every day.

Of course, the effectiveness of the report and election campaign in party groups and shop party organizations also depends on the attention given to them by party committees and bureaus of primary organizations and party raykoms and gorkoms. We must ensure that all members of these elected organs constantly participate in studying, generalizing, and discussing central questions in the life of party groups and labor collectives. The imperative of the day is to right after the meetings begin implementing the ideas advanced by grassroots Communists. It is also necessary to see to the creation of new party groups, where the interests of the matter require this, and party influence must be extended to all sectors of production and social life.

Today is the time for action! And party groups must ensure the personal responsibility of Communists for work in specific sectors of restructuring.

Razumovskiy on 'Reports and Elections' Campaign
PM1808150088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Aug 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Interview with G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unnamed correspondent: "An Important Stage in the Renewal of the Party and the Deepening of Restructuring"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In accordance with the CPSU Statutes and the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum "On Reports and Elections in Party Organiza-

tions," the report and election campaign is beginning in the party. The editorial office asked G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to answer a number of questions connected with the preparations and conduct of the campaign.

[Correspondent] What are the special features of the report and election campaign that has begun in the party? What place is it intended to take in the implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and in the deepening of restructuring?

[Razumovskiy] The special features and significance of these reports and elections are due first and foremost to the fact that they will basically be the first major step in the practical implementation of the fundamental decisions elaborated by the 19th CPSU Conference on the further democratization of the life of the party and society and the establishment of political methods of leadership in the activity of party organizations and committees. Therefore, the great expectations that Communists, working people, and all our society pin on them are only natural. What lies behind the Soviet people's profound interest in this intraparty campaign is their understanding and recognition of the role of the party as initiator, motivator, and guarantor of the revolutionary renewal of society.

I would like to stress quite clearly that the purpose of this large-scale, crucial political campaign is to convey to all party components and all levels of the party structure the revolutionary, transforming impetus of the conference and to promote the deepening of restructuring processes and their enrichment and further development.

In the course of the reports and elections, the political formulas of the 19th party conference are to be translated into the language of the practical tasks of each specific party organization, labor collective, or region. It is necessary not merely to set tasks, but to determine clearly for each task what is to be done, when, and how. It is particularly important to involve in this process of elaboration and implementation of party policy the party's basic component—the primary party organizations, to where the center of gravity is now shifting in the struggle for restructuring.

The report and election campaign is called upon to do the maximum possible to promote the further democratization of all intraparty life, the reinterpretation of forms and methods of work, the delimitation of the functions of the party and the soviets, the mastery of the entire arsenal of democracy, and, not least, the heightening of efficiency in the activity of elected party organs and their apparatus, which will undergo a major reorganization.

The CPSU Central Committee believes that under the conditions of the emerging pluralism of opinions, the reports and elections will promote the creation of an efficiently operating mechanism for the comparison of views, the development of criticism and self-criticism in the party, the enrichment of the ideological life of party organizations, the decisive eradication of inertia, and dissociation from antirestructuring and pseudorestructuring views. After all, this must be the nature of the political milieu in which the qualities of today's and tomorrow's party leaders are displayed and undergo comprehensive examination by the opinion of the party masses.

It is well known that the fundamental political principles of the party conference on the holding of reports and elections were given concrete form at the July (1988) plenum of the party Central Committee, first and foremost in M.S. Gorbachev's report and in the corresponding resolution—the first, incidentally, to be adopted on such an issue at a Central Committee plenum. The CPSU Central Committee approved the new Instructions on the Holding of Elections to Leading Party Organs. They were published in the journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZH and sent to the localities.

[Correspondent] What problems will be at the center of the Communists' attention during the report and election meetings and conferences? What will determine the content of the debates?

[Razumovskiy] We expect a direct, frank, honest, and truly party-minded discussion of how each Communist fulfills his task, what contribution he is making to restructuring, whether everyone's words about participation in restructuring are backed up by the necessary actions. Today what is required of every one of the nearly 20 million party members is not assurances of support for restructuring, but active day-to-day participation in the revolutionary transformations that must, by our common efforts, gather momentum and yield ever greater results.

In each region, in each party organization, according to the specific conditions particular themes, aspects, and nuances of party work will be in the forefront. But for all the differences, the most important aspects of this work must be constantly kept in view—the political, organizational, ideological, and cadre aspects.

The political maturity of party organizations should be expressed first and foremost in the creation of conditions that allow party meetings and conferences to take place in an atmosphere of high efficiency and principle, democratically and with glasnost, and with the ability to eliminate obsolete rules and regulations. In a word, they should be a platform for the discussion of the most important, acute, urgent, pressing problems and enable us thoroughly to determine what must be done in practice in each specific situation to resolve the urgent questions that determine the prosperity and mood of every Soviet citizen, the fuller satisfaction of the working people's socioeconomic and spiritual needs, and thus the effectiveness of party policy.

The sharpest attention should undoubtedly be devoted to questions of ideological and political education and the development of a creative attitude toward labor and the stepping up of the struggle against inactivity, conservatism, bureaucracy, and other phenomena diametrically opposed to restructuring.

The mood and the thrust of the discussion at party forums will, of course, largely be determined by the tone set by the report. The party organ and its leader assert their political authority when their own assessment of their activity is more severe and exacting than the public's assessment. Only on this basis is it possible to arrive at constructive proposals and a creative program of action leading to real progress in the key areas of restructuring.

At the same time what will be of decisive significance here, beyond all doubt, will be a position of principle and initiative, permeated by an awareness of the full importance of what is happening, on the part of all Communists, participants in meetings, and conference delegates—their sense of really being the masters of their party home, their sense of personal responsibility for the party's cause. The party's vanguard role in restructuring is determined by how actively and responsibly the Communists act in all sectors of socialist renewal and how much real influence, backed up by practical actions, they exert.

In other words, it must be recognized that how things go in every party organization, in every collective, city, village, rayon, and oblast, how restructuring is managed there and what results it brings, will depend directly on all the Communists. And not only who the Communists elect or reelect to their leadership organ, but how far they succeed in establishing consistent monitoring of and support for that organ and organizing their work in general.

[Correspondent] What specific tasks of cadre policy will be tackled in the course of the reports and elections?

[Razumovskiy] Beginning with the grass-roots components, in the process of electing party committees it is necessary to form the leadership personnel of party organs in such a way that they are able successfully to resolve not only today's tasks, but also future tasks. After all, the report and election meetings and conferences must determine who the Communists entrust with the leadership of the party organization at the present, very important stage in the life of the party and society, and whether they will be real leaders who enjoy unconditional respect, political fighters capable of influencing the masses and leading them, really advancing the cause of revolutionary renewal, and ensuring a new quality of party work.

Experience shows that this is hard to achieve if the candidacies for the leadership organs are determined by one person or a small circle of people, if they are imposed from above. This practice should be eradicated from party life forever. Filling the elected organs on the formal principle of people's posts is also impermissible. The formation of elected party organs is a matter for all party members. The degree of responsibility and principle with which Communists approach the resolution of these questions in the grass-roots components, how they approach the delegation of worthy people to higher organs, will to a tremendous extent determine the militancy of the entire party. It will also determine the similarity of the assessments by the party organizations and party committees of the general situation and the state of affairs in decisive sectors, to the assessments made by the public. That is the guarantee of the creation of an atmosphere of high exactingness, dissatisfaction with what has been achieved, and intolerance of shortcomings everywhere.

Paramount significance is attached to the implementation of the 19th party conference instructions on the democratization of the election process in the party. The organic combination of full glasnost, appointment by election, and party control from below forms a democratic mechanism for the resolution of cadre questions which, in Lenin's words, ensures that "every activist is ultimately 'in his place,' tackling the job most appropriate to his forces and capacities, experiencing for himself all the conseqeunces of his own mistakes, and demonstrating to everyone his ability to acknowledge mistakes and avoid them." The whole corps of party workers must pass through this exacting test. Incidentally, this changes fundamentally the very concept of the "nomenklatura," about which there are so many arguments at present. The party's cadre corps will henceforth be determined not by membership of some kind of "list," but by the free, totally unrestricted expression of the Communists' will and the effective functioning of the democratic institutions of our political system, which is undergoing renewal.

[Correspondent] What role are the mass media called upon to play in the report and election campaign?

[Razumovskiy] A very significant and most fruitful role. In their activity in the post-April period, our mass media have on the whole proved their capability to act as a powerful factor stimulating the process of renewal, a platform for party and public opinion, and a sensitive sounding board for people's feelings. Therefore the party cannot conceive of conducting the campaign without the constant support of the press, television, and radio and the active participation of the aktiv of journalists in providing ideological backup.

In fact, this was stated at the Central Committee July plenum, which set the task of ensuring that the reports and elections take place in an atmosphere of pervasive glasnost and that the mass media reflect fully and accurately the atmosphere of the meetings and conferences and the questions raised by the Communists. The party sees the openness of report and election meetings and

conferences as one of the decisive prerequisites for ensuring that this campaign takes place in full accordance with the spirit and instructions of the party conference and promotes the establishment of democratic norms in party life. "Without glasnost," V.I. Lenin noted, "it would be laughable to talk about democracy, and moreover, not the kind of glasnost that is confined to members of the organization."

Every effort must be made to implement the mandate of the party conference in the forthcoming reports and elections: The party must set an example in the development of glasnost. In practical terms it is important to ensure that the central and local press, television, and radio systematically and on the basis of party principles cover the course of the meetings and conferences, the decisions they adopt, and the way the Communists' criticisms and proposals are taken into account.

From the very first steps of the campaign the party committees must establish constant, businesslike contact with editorial collectives and help journalists to obtain accurate and up-to-the-minute information "at first hand." This contact is of particular significance for the local press, which not infrequently still lacks political trenchancy. For workers in the mass media the reports and elections in the party are a splendid opportunity to increase the relevance and political substance of their articles and enhance their effectiveness. In general, glasnost should be fully at the service of the strengthening of healthy, positive trends in the party and society.

Conference Held on Intersectorial Associations

PM1808142588 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 p 1

[LENTASS report: "How To Develop Intersectorial Associations"]

[Text] The "Energomash" and "Tekhnokhim" Intersectorial State Associations set up on the initiative of a number of major Leningrad production and scientific collectives are going through a formative period. The broad opportunities being opened up by combining the scientific, technical, and production potential of the dozens of enterprises and scientific research institutes involved in the intersectorial state associations have to be commissioned as quickly as possible.

Like all the new things arising from the restructuring of economic management, the newly formed structural formations demand the close attention of party and economic organs. The intersectorial associations' correct cooperation with central economic departments is particularly important now, for the associations have been taken out of the direct jurisdiction of sectorial ministries. A conference held in Leningrad on 14 July was devoted to these questions. Members of the intersectorial state association boards, enterprise leaders, party committee and bureau secretaries, and representatives of labor collective councils took part in its work. Participating in the conference were I.S. Silayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; O.G. Anfimov, USSR minister of the electrical equipment industry; V.M. Lukyanenko, USSR minister of chemical and petroleum machine building; and M.S. Zotov, chairman of the board of the USSR Promstroybank [Bank for Industrial Construction].

Problems of unconditionally ensuring the rights of intersectorial associations granted to labor collectives by the USSR Law on the Production Enterprise (Association) were comprehensively discussed. Paramount attention was devoted to the need for the substantiated determination of the volumes of state orders, normatives, quotas, and capital investments. It was pointed out that all the preconditions must be created for steady production growth, the accelerated development of progressive equipment, and the intersectorial state associations' emergence into the foreign market. All this is the basis for enhancing working people's material interest and ensuring the collectives' consistent social development. Questions of forming the intersectorial associations' own commercial banks were also examined with regard to the current tasks. Operating on share principles and accumulating the financial investments of their member enterprises, these banks must contribute in every possible way to making rational use of funds and strengthening the collectives' economic independence and the leaders' spirit of enterprise.

During the discussion special emphasis was placed on the need to back up economic and organizational measures with specific political educational work by party committees and bureaus aimed at the speediest formation of intersectorial state associations and at increasing the new formations' contribution to restructuring the economy.

The conference participants familiarized themselves with the work of the "Elektrosila" and "Leningradskiy Metallicheskiy Zavod" associations.

Yu. F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad CPSU Obkom, and A.M. Fateyev, secretary of Leningrad party obkom, participated in the examination of questions.

'Aurora' Rail Crash Site Shown on Television

LD1808175588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As previously reported, the crash of the "Aurora" passenger train, which was traveling from Leningrad to Moscow, took place on 16 August. [video shows close-up

of mangled metal] A government commission has traveled to the accident site, and the reasons for the catastrophe are being investigated. [video shows men repairing track, a train moving past, a further view of mangled metal and adjoining repair work]

Rescue and restoration work had already started here 30 minutes after the accident. Of the 827 passengers on the train, more than 500 were sent off to Moscow and to their final destinations aboard two special trains. There are 105 people undergoing medical treatment in Kalinin Oblast hospitals. The exact number of casualties has not yet been established. Material and moral assistance are being provided to the relatives of those who died. Restoration work is being completed at the crash site: The embankment has been restored and tracks have been laid down. Movement on this section is being carried out by diesel locomotives. The restoration of the contact network and of communications was completed today. The Oktyabrskaya railway is beginning to work in its normal rhythm.

A TASS correspondent reports details: Three hours before the catastrophe, Khrustalev, carrying out the duties of chief of the Bologoye rail division, ordered that the speed limit introduced on that section of the track 24 hours before the catastrophe be lifted. An investigation is under way. The reasons for his decision still have yet to be revealed, as the repair work being carried out by senior track foreman Gavrilov was not complete. The engine driver of the electric locomotive conducting the train at full speed noted the deviation of the track from the norm and started applying the brakes, but it was already too late. The locomotive was able to leap across the dangerous place, but the railroad cars behind it broke away from the electric train and were derailed. The fire, which it is presumed broke out from the fire-box of the restaurant car, intensified the calamity.

The teams of firemen who came to the site of the tragedy conducted a 4-hour struggle against the fire, which had engulfed the train. The matter here lies in the inordinate saturation of railroad cars with combustible materials: They are very inflammable and burn instantly. Rescue teams arrived at the Berezayka station almost at the same time as the firemen. They acted quickly and energetically. All those in need received food, clothing, and money. First aid was given to the casualties. They were sent to hospitals and certain casualties were operated on by surgeons there and then right next to the railroad cars. Around-the-clock duty has been organized in the Bologoye Gorkom, in the ispolkom, and in the branch of the railway. Unfortunately, the number of casualties has grown. Two persons who received severe injuries have died.

Charges Filed; Injury Update

LD1908134288 Moscow TASS in English 1328 GMT 19 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 19 TASS—None of the foreign tourists who travelled on Train 159 between Leningrad and Moscow on August 16 was killed or injured in the crash, a TASS correspondent has learned from Maria Sitkina, deputy chairman of the State Committee of the USSR for Foreign Tourism.

The Aurora passenger train derailed on August 16 near Bologoye station on the October railway.

25 people were killed in the crash. Out of 107 who were brought to hospital, three people died later. 28 were discharged from hospital after receiving medical treatment.

An investigation conducted by a commission of the USSR Ministry of Railways determined the causes of the accident.

According to Vladimir Ginko, first deputy minister for railways, the train crashed due to the unsatisfactory condition of the tracks and the unjustified cancellation of the warning about reducing speed by T. Gavrilov, a senior railway foreman, whose actions had not been timely curbed by T. Khrustalev, head of the Bologoye railway stretch.

Material assistance has been given to all people injured in the accident and families of those who were killed. Material damage is updated to 420,000-450,000 roubles.

Criminal proceedings have been instituted against the culprits.

Economic

Professor Urges Multiple Plan Options

PM1708150988 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 16 Aug 88 p 1

[Article by Prof Yu. Solnyshkov under the "Let's Look Into Tomorrow" rubric: "Is the Plan Always Right?"]

[Text] Take the following fact for a start: In the past 20 years targets for the most important types of output under state control have never once been met. What does this tell us? That our economy is in a grave state? That there is no effective economic mechanism? Probably, but it also tells us about the quality of our planning! We have already admitted that everything right down to the details cannot be planned from the center. We have also admitted that planning should be long term and continuous and should be based on targeted programs. Yet with long-term planning the possibility of errors merely increases. Do we try to ensure against them? To be frank, no: Pinning our hopes on the wisdom of computer equipment which can predict with absolute accuracy all the peripeteia of our economic life seems to me naive.

But for some reason our planners continue to believe in the infallibility of their foresight. And what methods do they not use to succeed in preserving this faith under the onslaught of the facts in which our life is, alas, rich. It was as though we had not constructed giant plants whose output has proven unwanted, as though we had not gone

bust because of the oil prices which had suddenly dropped, as though, finally, the unpredicted shortage of sugar or soap were not descending on our heads...

Many economic problems have been mentioned in this connection. But one, very important, problem has been forgotten. Is it not time to admit that the single option long-term plan or program or project, whatever you call it, entails the risk of failure? Yet the Basic Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR continue to be elaborated as though the conditions in which they will be implemented cannot change.

Of course, variations of the plan are elaborated in advance, but only controlled parameters in them change. Of course, these calculations are necessary. But this is not a prediction of the future! The subject of scientific prediction should be uncontrolled or poorly controlled parameters. Everything which influences the results of our actions but is not subject to our influence. A multiple option forecast of conditions is a unique background against which the plan should be elaborated. It will help to provide in good time for measures with whose aid we will succeed in adapting to altered conditions.

It would do us no harm to recall an instructive story connected with the name of the first man to begin publishing storm forecasts in the newspapers—the British Admiral Robert Fitzroy. His forecasts were uniform and naturally did not always come true. Fishermen who did not go to sea when a storm was predicted but did not break out incurred losses. They sued Fitzroy and the latter, unable to endure the burden of the accusations, killed himself.

Many firms in the West plan their activity not uniformly but with a consideration for possible changes. One, for instance, in planning its activity for a 7-year period, compiles a single plan only for the forthcoming 2 years. For the next 2 years it elaborates 4 plan options and even more for the remaining 3 years: up to 10 options. When the time comes the option chosen is the one which accords to the greatest degree with the requirements of the moment. Foreign managers have a methodologically correct approach toward considering the uncertainty always inherent in the future.

Let us also recall our own albeit, alas, almost forgotten experience. In his report to the 15th party congress on the 5-year national economy plan, Gosplan Chairman G. Krzhizhanovskiy said that the planning organ workers had reached the conclusion that it is inexpedient to provide one set of control figures for a 5-year term. It was proposed to compile the first 5-year plan on the basis of two options: an initial option proceeding from a minimum economic potential, and an optimal option geared to a more favorable situation. They also proposed annually updating the plan for the forthcoming 5 years so that there should be no figures fetishism.

In its directives for compiling the 5-year plan the 15th party congress noted: "The experience of planned leadership has proven that planning proposals have frequently needed more or less substantial amendments and that they should invariably be of a relative and conditional nature." After all, that is how they used to think.

Is it not time for us to return to these ideas today? Is it not time to admit that a noble faith in the omnipotence of our collective reason and the infallibility of its predictions results in practice in gross errors in the economy? Life unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, is far richer than the most detailed schemes and always conceals surprises. And valor lies by no means in obstinately seeking to achieve a particular control figure without noticing the changes which have taken place, but in being prepared for these changes.

And I remind those forecasters who seek to draw a single picture of the future and present it to our practical workers of the words of a specialist about the accident at the Chernobyl AES: "When the station was being planned all conceivable scenarios should have been envisaged," he said.

Let's learn from our mistakes.

Agricultural

Harvest Progress, Problems, Possible Solutions

Feed Procurement Difficulties

PM1808115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Article by Ye. Grigoryev under the rubric "What the Statistics Tell Us": "The Lessons of Leasing"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that the grain harvest is in full swing on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. The center of the harvest campaign has shifted to the Russian non-Chernozem Zone. By 8 August 53.1 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been cut in the country. Vegetables are being harvested, early potatoes are being lifted, berries and fruit are being gathered, and the fields are being prepared for the sowing of winter crops.

Feed procurement continues on farms. By the beginning of the second week of August 60 million tonnes of hay, 68.5 million tonnes of haylage, 24.7 million tonnes of silage, and 3.3 million tonnes of grass meal have been laid in for livestock units. In terms of feed units this constitutes 64.1 million tonnes—more than by the same time last year. Many farms in Kazakhstan and Siberia are lagging behind, with stocks as yet falling short of last year's level.

Grain and feed are a preoccupation and worry for the farmer. As is known, a plentiful supply of them is essential for a good diet. But it is apparent from the statistics of the USSR State Committee for Statistics and an analysis of feed procurements that the feed stocks replenishment situation could not be worse in a number of regions of the country. What is the problem? Bad weather? A shortage of equipment? Obviously these are factors. But why does it happen year after year?

The feed procurement personnel on Kemerovo Oblast's "Prokopyevskiy" sovkhoz did a good job last year and laid in some excellent hay. But they did not cover the stacks. They got wet. The unfortunate consequence is that the sovkhoz is not fulfilling the milk production plan. Sure, polyethylene costs rubles. But indifference toward public welfare has resulted in losses to the tune of thousands of rubles. A common story, unfortunately. It makes one consider that in the case of feed procurement personnel there is sometimes too little economic dependence on the end results of labor at livestock units.

Thousands of laboratories are helping farms to classify feed. All-union state standards have been elaborated and are operating for hay, haylage, and silage. And pay recommendations are geared to the feed procurement workers' providing more quality products. But, in fact, in Penza Oblast, for example, workers on many farms were late getting out into the meadows. On some of them, the "Yulovskiy" sovkhoz, for example, a considerable proportion of the harvest has been left on the land. Odd? Not when you consider that pay comes automatically.

When it is not linked to the end result you can expect defects and blunders, and blatant bad management as well. This is eloquently demonstrated by statistics. Last year 26 percent of the hay and 28 percent of the haylage laid in were third class or substandard.

Substandard feed is common this year too. A great deal of substandard haylage has been laid in in Moldavia. Much feed of this type has been laid in in Gorkiy, Kursk, and some other oblasts. These facts indicate a great deal to the specialist. When this feed is involved livestock have to be given 1.5 times or double the usual ration or concentrates have to be added, which is very expensive.

Indifference toward feed production is perhaps an effect rather than a cause. This is demonstrated by the activity of lease collectives.

At the moment it is hard to estimate how much was lost in the Mari fields as a result of the drought. But they look fine on the "Bolshevik" sovkhoz where N. Sagitov's lease team works. They are getting about 30 quintals of hay per hectare there and it is all of excellent quality. Why? They sow it themselves, cut it themselves, and sell the harvest themselves. It is even better when they turn the feed into meat and milk themselves. For example, V. Aykhayev's lease team from the "Ust-Ordynskiy" sovkhoz in Ust-Ordynskiy Rayon, Buryat Autonomous Okrug, or the Mayorov, Polezhayevyy, and Zalevskiy families on the "Bereg" and "Krasnyy Oktyabr" kolkhozes in Pskov Oblast.

This is the experience of leasing. And in the places where it has found its feet, where the feed procurement personnel, forage distributors, stockmen, and milkmaids have an economic involvement, where pay depends on milk yields and weight increases, everything is shipshape.

A proven path, seemingly. But.... On the Tambov kolkhoz named for Michurin in Michurinskiy Rayon the machine operators supplying livestock with feed displayed initiative by asking the administration to switch them to "milk-related" pay. There was no backing for this. So they are operating any old way. The machine operators are not bothered by how much feed gets to the livestock units—they will still get their bonuses. The prime cost of a quintal of milk, for example, has already leaped to R50 in the kolkhoz. With that sort of economic naivety, farms can easily dispose of state subsidies.

The time is coming for the mass laying in of silage. The quality of livestock rations depends on silage stocks. And the paramount question again is: What will the quality be like?

In those places where they manage to grow corn with ears of waxy or milky-waxy ripeness and store it in good-quality facilities it will be high. But in Kazakhstan it looks like much of the silage will again have to be put in earth trenches. There is no way the construction workers are going to achieve the planned figure for construction of standard capacities. Or, for example, what are machine operators in Turkmenia and Tajikistan going to use to harvest the corn? At the moment one-fifth of the silage- and feed-harvesting machinery has still to be overhauled. And the new equipment keeps on breaking down because it is of poor quality.

This year farms cannot depend on supplies of grain forage from state resources. So, as well as harvesting grain they have to actively procure feed and lay in as much as the stockraisers need. In field, meadow, and truck garden there must be no waste. Anything that is not suitable for the table goes into the trough, contributing to weight increase and milk yields. This is the lesson of leasing.

Eastern Grain Shortfall

PM1808133988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Agricultural Review by V. Gavrichkin: "Grain of the Eastern Fields"]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that as of 15 August grain crops and pulse crops (not counting corn) had been harvested over 62.3 million hectares and threshed over 58.9 million hectares, which is 54 percent of the sown areas.

This is not the first year that we have noted that as soon as the center of the harvest moves beyond the Urals (and it may be said that that is where it has moved now) the pace of work increases drastically. The dimensions of the work on the virgin lands are even hard to compare with anything.

But our grain fields in the country's eastern regions are not simply enormous—they are also special fields. The overwhelming proportion of these fields are situated in the so-called risky cultivation zone and subject to cyclical droughts. And it is virtually impossible to compensate for a harvest shortfall or any harvest failure which has occurred here through the efforts of all the country's remaining grain growing areas. The steadiness of grain production in the eastern regions became a paramount problem long ago.

To judge by the state of the crops, the east will not gratify us with a big grain harvest this year. The June heat has literally scorched the fields. In the virgin land oblasts of Kazakhstan, for instance, according to specialists' assessments only about 10 percent of the grain crops promise a good harvest, 65 percent are in a satisfactory state, and one-fifth are in a poor state and in some places the grain crops have failed to withstand the drought on 4 percent of the sown areas. The same ratio, with most insignificant variations, exists in the steppe regions of West Siberia and beyond the Urals.

As we can see, there is grain nevertheless, but it will be grain harvested with great difficulty. Harvesting it when there is a shortfall—such are the specific features of arable farming here—is no less complex than in years with a good harvest.

For instance, M. Suleymenov, director of the A.I. Barayev All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Grain Farming and corresponding member of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, in assessing the features of the harvest, notes the unusually motley state of the grain crops within one oblast, rayon, or even farm. Everything now depends on the grain growers' skill.

Nonetheless the arable farmers, despite the poverty of many fields, have the opportunity to obtain grain of a high standard. But doing this will also be difficult. Here, too, the rain may seriously complicate work. Maneuvering and precise, intricate work on the field and the threshing floors is required.

With what precision we must operate, with what seriousness we must prepare for the harvest in order not to give up under such conditions, to avoid tangible losses. Has everything necessary for this been done everywhere? Unfortunately not. The harvest has essentially begun, yet many farms have not put all combines and threshing machines into commission, have not adjusted the equipment on the threshing floors, and lack combines. For instance, Kazakhstan will again require substantial assistance. Of course this assistance is being rendered. But you cannot help asking: Are we not traveling the same well-trodden circle on the eastern grain fields? Are we not running into the same corners time and again?

Here it must be said frankly that sometimes we are still traveling this circle and running into these corners. For instance, just as 20-30 years ago the Siberian and virgin land grain growers had no good early ripening strains of wheat, so they have none now. Yet this is a crucial question. Grain production in the east of the country is very correctly compared with a train which is too long to fit between two stations. Spring props it up "at the front": If it has been in a hurry to sow, the weeds choke the crops, but if it has sown well-cleared fields but has been late then the "rear" of the rolling stock ends up under the snow. The train should be shortened, but the means to do so do not exist—there are no early ripening strains. And yet....

It seems that the grain growers themselves are trying to resolve the problem with which the breeders cannot cope. The area planted to winter crops which has somehow increased surreptitiously, imperceptibly, is evidence of that. Particularly in Omsk and Novosibirsk Oblasts and the Altay. On the Omsk Oblast "Luzinskiy" sovkhoz, for instance, winter crops have now taken over one-third of the area sown to grain. Many people are still only beginning the harvest, but here they have already harvested one-third of the fields. And the yield is 30-40 quintals. As we can see, the train has extracted both its "front" and its "rear" from the brief Siberian summer.

The Kazakhstan people, it is true, complain that their winter crop is killed by the frost. Yet it was in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan that those Omsk Oblast farmers borrowed the technique for cultivating winter crops under the protection of mustard windbreaks.

Well, no one is a prophet in his own country. But he should be the master! And to all appearances the master is coming to the grain fields. I am sure that what M. Suleymenov calls "the unusually motley state of the grain crops" today was not given to us by the almighty heavens alone. After all, previously it used to be the case that if there were a drought everything around would burn, but now alongside the "fire casualties" you can suddenly discover a field where the grain stands in a solid wall. For instance, on the "Karagandinskiy" sovkhoz, North Kazakhstan Oblast, the leasing collectives' winter crops did not die of frost and provided an average of up to 30 quintals [per hectare]. In Shortandy they are promising 14-15 quintals of barley. On the intensive fields of the Siberian Scientific Research Institute of Agriculture "Omskoye" experimental-demonstrating farm yields of 35-37 quintals have become habitual. In Kazakhstan grain is cultivated on the basis of intensive technology on 6 million hectares and promises quite a good harvest. This is significant because over 2,000 farms here use the leasing contract.

Only the first small trial step has been taken, but it is a very promising one. Unless we now take the second step, the decisive one this time, we will come to a halt again. We still have not handed over the land to the lessees for long-term use, but without that there will be no master. Day labor has cost us dear. In Kazakhstan, for instance, the virgin land has lost one-third of its initial quantity of topsoil. To this day a little over 5 times less organic fertilizer is applied here than on average throughout the country and nearly 20 times less than in, for instance, Belorussia.

There was a time when we relied on mineral fertilizers. Since 1985—the start of the broad assimilation of intensive technologies—an unprecedented "wave" of fertilizers had come to the eastern fields. This year prices for fertilizers increased. If that had occurred a couple of years earlier nothing would have happened, people would have taken the fertilizers even if they were more expensive. But now the young master, who has not yet found his feet, has organized a positive rebellion—he is refusing the fertilizers. For instance, the arable farmers of Omsk Oblast have taken only 160,000 tonnes of the 216,000 tonnes released.

I personally like this disobedience, although the situation is complex. On the one hand the plants must be fed, but on the other you cannot help with orders here. The master will become more generous in expenditure when he receives a field on long-term lease—only thus can he be compelled to display concern for increasing fertility. But even then he will not throw his money about and will not tolerate any "intensive practices."

On the fields of the country's eastern regions the new production relations called the lease contract are taking root. And in this year's difficult harvest we must protect them and allow them to survive and resist the temptation of again messing everything up with various handouts and additional payments "straight away" and with senseless aid. If we protect them and resist the temptation the eastern fields will be a stable source of grain.

Kazakh Official's Assessment

PM1808140188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with E. Gukasov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom, by correspondent G. Dildyayev: "Virgin Lands Enter the Harvest"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Kazakh SSR—The 40-degree heat in June scorched and dried out the crops. The grain in many virgin-land farm fields is unusually stunted and yellow before its time. In short, there is no way you can call this year's harvest a rich one.

PRAVDA's correspondent asked E. Gukasov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Gosagroprom, to assess the situation and say what is being done to gather in in full what has been grown.

[Gukasov] I will begin by saying that the virgin-land farmers had never before prepared for sowing as carefully as they did this spring. They sowed at the best times and to a high standard. For we all remembered that, on the results for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, Kazakhstan sold to the state 1.6 million tonnes of grain less than planned. We strove to make good our debt. Farmers did not want to lag behind, seeing how other people's affairs were progressing. But the drought at the beginning of the summer took a large part of the crop. Bitter though it may be, it has to be said that we evidently will not repay our debt this year.

[Dildyayev] Erik Khristoforovich, before our meeting I visited a number of farms in Tselinograd, Kokchetav, and North Kazakhstan Oblasts. This is what is strange: Everyone curses the drought, but the grain is not bad everywhere.

[Gukasov] According to our estimates, on the eve of mass harvesting in the republic's main grain oblasts approximately 10 percent of the crops were in good condition and 65 percent in a satisfactory condition, and 4 percent of the crops had to be written off. All the rest—one-fifth—was in bad condition. That is the picture.

Now about the rain.... Yes, there was intermittent rain in some places at the time of forming ears and tillering. But something else must account for the motley nature of the yield: The drought was tamed where farming standards were high (but where they were low, it really threw its weight about). In the fields where intensive technologies are applied, which cover 6 million hectares in Kazakhstan, the grain is not bad even in such a complex situation. The fields of the experimental farm at Shortandy, for example, will produce 14-15 quintals of barley per hectare. On the whole, the farmers of North Kazakhstan Oblast have emerged worthily from the difficult situation. Under present conditions this is a triumph. Whoever carries out a bold search, whoever experiments, and rids himself of the habit of awaiting instructions for all eventualities, will come out on top.

[Dildyayev] North Kazakhstan Oblast's "Karagandinskiy" sovkhoz is threshing up to 30 quintals of winter crops. The area sown to frost-resistant strains of grain is increasing in that oblast. Many sovkhoz directors said that this matter must be tackled more boldly. And here is another observation: If people today want to show you something "to best advantage," they take you along to visit lessees.

[Gukasov] It seems that this word moved from theory into practice quite recently. But now you cannot even imagine how to live without the system of production relations called the lease contract. Our farmers already know its

essence well. More than 2,000 Kazakh farms are using the lease contract. I have on hand the indicators of grain farms which worked in the new way last year. Let us take Tselinograd Oblast's "Krasnoye Znamya" sovkhoz. Last year it obtained 18.1 quintals of grain per hectare—almost 4 quintals more than in 1986. I will emphasize that 1986 was far more favorable and productive.

I am convinced that without it we would not have even the grain that we do have today. And yet just the first steps have been taken, and we have not yet given the land over to real leasing. We are working on this. We believe that it must be released to grain growers for a considerable length of time.

[Dildyayev] Harvesting has already begun in the virgin lands. How have people prepared for it?

[Gukasov] Some 95-98 percent of the equipment is ready. Questions of transport have been resolved: Some 12,000 drivers have been mobilized within the republic, and servicemen will drive their vehicles onto the grain routes. Some 6,000 combine operators will come to the virgin-land farmers' assistance from other republics.

[Dildyayev] Discussing the harvest results last fall, I spoke with you about the equipment available for harvest work. At that time you reflected on the too great load per combine—which leads to grain losses—and on the need to increase the machine pool. You wanted the load per combine in the virgin-land oblasts to be reduced to 150 hectares by the 1988 harvest.

[Gukasov] This has not been achieved. Although the load has been reduced, it is still great—220 hectares per combine. We applied for the necessary number of Yenisey-1200's with a 6-meter cut. We asked for 23,000, and they gave us 7,000. And they made us take 2,500 Nivas with a 5-meter cut. They really did make us. In July, on the eve of the harvest, we gave up waiting for the machines we had ordered and consented to the delivery of the Nivas.

[Dildyayev] "Made," "forced," "thrust" are not words from the vocabulary of economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] relations.

[Gukasov] Just so. The leaders of our farms did not refuse the Yeniseys with a 6-meter header. We did not take the Don-1500's. They offered us 1,400 of them. But we could not accommodate them. These machines are expensive, and economic planners are not confident that the Don will be efficient in our grain fields. Moreover, this combine is certainly not for a yield of less than 20 quintals.

[Dildyayev] How are things going with the Kazakh version of stationary threshing?

[Gukasov] In my opinion, under our conditions the future still belongs to combines. But as regards your question.... They promised us six banks of machines for this harvest work technique in time for this year's harvest, but they have not delivered them.

[Dildyayev] Last year I also spoke with you about the imperfect labor remuneration for machine operators engaged in the harvest.

[Gukasov] Yes, that was the case. At harvest time an experienced machine operator frequently preferred any auxiliary work to sitting at the controls of a combine—he frequently made more there with a smaller load. We have drawn up recommendations for this year's harvest, whose essence is simple: The more quickly and better you harvest grain, the more you will earn. Working a 14-15-hour day, a combine operator can earn up to R100 a day.

[Dildyayev] And the last point. Whichever sovkhoz director I began a conversation with about the harvest, it always ended with the same question: What will be the position with forage this year? In other words, they are afraid that farm produce will be requisitioned....

[Gukasov] We need to lay in store 6.24 million tonnes of forage for the normal development of livestock raising. Will this be possible? I do not know.... Taking the overall grain shortfall into account, we must clearly seek the optimum ratio. In any case, Kazakh grain growers are interested in selling to the state all the good-quality grain—and very high prices have been set this year for grain strength and quality.

Agricultural Developments for 16-17 Aug

LD1808030888 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 16-17 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

16 August:

In Volgograd Oblast nearly 2 million tonnes of grain have been delivered to the state to date. (0800)

Amur Oblast Vostok kolkhoz expects fuel shortages to affect an otherwise good harvest. A rayon agro-industrial association official reports that his Ivanovskiy Rayon put in its application for diesel fuel to the oblast agro-industrial committee on time, but his rayon and others are suffering from shortages. In the first half of the year enterprises of the USSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products failed to deliver more than 9,000 tonnes of diesel fuel to the Amur Oblast agro-industrial complex, and July's delivery schedule has not been met either. The Amur Oblast farmers are waiting for help. (1100)

One-fifth of the area sown to grain crops in Kazakhstan, 4.6 million hectares, has been harvested to date, the republic's state statistical committee reports. Over the past week grain has been harvested from 1.3 million hectares, the highest result in the harvest drive to date. (1300)

17 August:

Grain crops have been cut on one-third of the sown area in the Transurals. (0330)

Kuybyshev agricultural workers as of today have sown winter rye and wheat on 150,000 hectares, which is one-third of the planned area. (0500)

Mass potato harvesting has begun in Belgorod Oblast. (0600)

In Belgorod Oblast the annual plan for grain sales to the state has been fulfilled: 750,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered, of which 300,000 tonnes are valuable and strong wheat. (0615)

Agricultural workers in Kazakhstan have completed hay making on 24 million hectares. More than 30 million hectares have been given over to hay fields in the republic. This year's hay making is lagging behind last year's by almost 2 million hectares. (0900)

Grain crops have been harvested from half a million hectares in Kurgan Oblast, one-third of the allotted area. (1100)

Cotton bolls are beginning to appear in fields in the south of Tajikstan. Specialists say that harvest ripening started approximately 10-15 days earlier than usual. Vashkh Valley farmers—where the main acreage of fine-fibre varieties is located—will be starting selective harvesting in August. This year cotton occupies more than 300,000 hectares of the best land at farms. Additional work on plants—application of mineral fertilizer—is now being carried out in places where they are behind in their development. Repairs to cotton-harvesting equipment are slow: In the Vashkh Valley most of the equipment is not yet ready. (1330)

Mass sowing of cereal crops has begun in the republic. Winter crops will be taking up approximately 200,000 hectares of dry-farming land at farms. (1330)

Scientific

Defense Ministry Film Depicts 'Energiya' Rocket

LD1908023488 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] The film studio of the Soviet Defense Ministry has released a film about a new generation Energiya carrier rocket. The film is to be shown on national television. The Soviet Union plans to use this rocket in the near future for launching space shuttles. Until recently the work connected with this rocket was considered top-secret. The film released by the Defense Ministry shows the center where the huge rocket, which is the size of a 20-storey building, is assembled. The rocket is 60 meters in height and its maximum diameter is nearly 20 meters.

You hear the announcer of the film explain the design of the two-stage Energiya rocket carrier. The first stage consists of four cylinder blocks attached to the fuel tank of the second stage. Each block has its own engine. The rocket can put into orbit a cargo of more than 100 tonnes, this is five times more than the carrying capability of the Soviet Proton rocket and three times more than the carrying capability of the American shuttle. Designing the Energiya rocket, experts had to take into consideration problems related not only to the rocket itself but also to ground systems providing its fueling, launching and controlling in flight.

The announcer in the film says that many materials change their properties in the medium of liquid hydrogen. Hydrogen fuel calls for profound cooling, and in low temperatures many materials become firmer. Rocket designers also took this into consideration. The film shows rocket's tests and its performance in automatic test flight. A senior Soviet space program official has announced that the multipurpose carrier rocket Energiya will undergo more test flights shortly. We now bring you a gist of the interview with the official, General German Titov, published in the Soviet Army daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

The rocket is unparalleled in the world, German Titov says. It can put into orbit both recoverable and irrecoverable cargos. The booster unit allows for solving a broad range of problems like putting satellites into geostationary orbit, launching spacecraft towards remote planets, or sending unmanned probes towards remote parts of the universe. For instance, Energiya can take unmanned space probes with a mass of 28 tonnes to Venus or Mars, or put a 32-tonne satellite in orbit around the moon.

The first flight of a Soviet space shuttle will become a new stage in the Soviet space program. Preparation for that flight is in full swing. German Titov didn't announce the date when a Soviet space shuttle will be launched, saying that preparation is very complicated. He said that the development of new rocket technology would not change the USSR's strategy of space research. As before, German Titov said, we shall be doing everything to ensure that space remains peaceful and serves exclusively the interests of humanity's progress.

Soviet, Afghan Cosmonauts Report to Space Center

LD1808131088 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 18 TASS—Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts today left for the Baykonur space centre for final training and preparations ahead of their joint space mission slated for August 29.

The first international crew comprises Soviet pilot Vladimir Lyakhov, physician Valeriy Polyakov and Afghan research cosmonaut Mohmand 'Abdullah Ahad.

Soviet pilot Anatoliy Berezovoy, physician Gherman Arzamazov and Afghan research cosmonaut Muhammed Dauran Ghulam Ma'sum are in the back-up crew.

Which crew will be assigned to fly will be decided by the state commission in the space center shortly before the blast-off.

The crew members will live in a local hotel called the Kosmonavt (Cosmonaut). The cosmonauts will leave their autographs on the hotel doors before checking out. The commander of the first crew, Lyakhov, took part in two lengthy flights. Berezovoy flew on a 211-day mission. Polyakov and Arzamazov and their Afghan colleagues are new to space-faring.

At Baykonur, the cosmonauts will inspect the spacecraft that will take three of them to outer space later this month.

Both crews are ready for the important mission—this has been acknowledged by the commission following the final comprehensive exams at the cosmonauts training centre near Moscow.

Once in orbit, the international crew will be busy fulfilling an extensive programme of scientific research, including studies that are directed at boosting Afghan economy.

Military

Yefimov Interviewed on Air Force Day

LD1808225388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2012 GMT 18 Aug 88

["Interview With Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Yefimov"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Aug (TASS)—"The Soviet Union is a resolute opponent of any arms race, including an aviation arms race," said Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Yefimov, commander in chief of the USSR Air Force and USSR deputy minister of defense. He gave an interview to a TASS correspondent in connection with USSR Air Force Day, the festival of Soviet airmen, celebrated on 21 August.

"Our country has favored and continues to favor complete and universal disarmament. However, as long as imperialists are fanning tension in the world, the Soviet Air Force, in close cooperation with the other branches of the USSR Armed Forces and the fraternal armies of the socialist countries, will be reliably guarding the gains of October," he said.

"The Air Force today is equipped with the latest technology. Missile carrier aircraft form the basis of its might. They are armed with multipurpose combat vehicles, variable sweep wings, and flying apparatuses with vertical ascent and descent. The military air transport forces are qualitatively new. They are equipped with the Il-76 jetliner, the "Antheus" and "Ruslan." Modern helicopters are a powerful means of combat.

Aleksandr Yefimov went on to say that at an international exhibition in Great Britain the frontline fighter plane, MiG-29, a modern warplane, is to be shown for the first time. "We are convinced that our plane will be fully able to compete in the latest aviation technology market. It is also an excellent chance to show the world the level of development of technology in the USSR. Nor are we hiding our readiness to deliver the MiG-29 to other countries. Our craft is in no way inferior to the U.S. F- 15, F-16, and F-18 fighter planes."

Concluding his conversation, the commander in chief of the USSR Air Force underlined that Air Force personnel are capable of performing any task set before them.

Notes Stalinist Purges

LD1808220988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 18 Aug 88

[Text] Interesting new information has been revealed about the Soviet Air Force on the eve of Air Force Day. Our Moscow correspondent Jozsef Barath reports:

The reason one of the most modern fighters in the Soviet Air Force, the MiG-29, was entered in the Farnborough air show near London is that the USSR is willing to sell it for a decent sum. The MiG-29 is regarded as no worse in any of its combat characteristics than the craft of the F-series—the fighting falcons—manufactured by General Dynamics. This was stated on the eve of Soviet Air Force Day by Air Marshal Yefimov.

It also emerges from the interview that the years of stagnation did not pass without leaving their mark on the elite corps of Soviet pilots either. As the marshal said, there was a need here as well for restructuring, for an improvement in professional preparedness and an enhancement of a sense of responsibility.

Yefimov, commander of Soviet military aircraft, said there are serious problems in preparing new officers in the Soviet Air Force, which could be explained primarily by the fact that the career of a fighter pilot is no longer attractive and does not have as much prestige as before, so recruitment standards cannot be set as high as they ought to be.

The role of Soviet pilots during World War II has been raised once again, but the tone is much less triumphant than was customary during previous Air Force Days. According to Yefimov, the Germans had an overpowering air superiority in the early stages of the war. The

reason for this was that the Stalinist leadership was late in mass producing new aircraft models, although the designs for the craft, which were later to prove victorious, were available in time. Nevertheless, there were virtually no offensive air units. The majority of pilots had not been trained for the new technology before the beginning of the war.

The Stalinist purges also caused great damage to the Air Force, whose leading officers fell victim to the bloodbath. Soviet pilots were therefore commanded by new, inexperienced officers in the first air battles of World War II. This was stated by Air Marshal Yefimov in an interview with TASS marking the forthcoming Soviet Air Force Day.

Yazov Answers Soldiers on Discipline
PM1708134188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Letter from servicemen to Defense Minister Yazov and reply from Yazov under general heading: "Military Fraternity Is Indestructible; USSR Defense Minister's Reply to Letters From Servicemen of Unit X on Noregulation Relations"]

[Text] To USSR Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov:

In response to your demands on enhancing the responsibility of drafted servicemen in the struggle to consolidate military discipline, we guards servicemen of a thrice order-bearing motorized rifle unit covered in glory during the war want to share our thoughts with you.

Clearly aware of what irreparable harm is inflicted on the cause of combat readiness by violations of military discipline and ugliest manifestations, such as nonregulation relations and bullying, we guards servicemen, under the new conditions of glasnost and honesty to ourselves and our comrades, want to assure you of our resolve not to allow bullying in our unit.

We are serving in the land of the Ukraine, a land which was abundantly covered with the blood of our fathers and grandfathers. Servicemen of our unit fought bravely in the battles against the enemy, as is eloquently borne out by the orders on the unit's combat banner. One cannot help asking: "Surely we could not have won if we had not had unity and cohesion, martial comradeship and combat fraternity, and the firm discipline extremely necessary in those grim times?" Of course we couldn't! And if the hour of trials comes, how important it is that we should have next to us a real friend, a combat comrade capable of carrying us from the battlefield when we are wounded. Surely at such a time we will not stop to count who has served 6 months more and who 6 months less? No, and no again!

We do not want our mothers to be afraid for their sons when they send them to serve in the army. That is why soldiers and sergeants in their third and fourth tours of duty have given their word, to themselves and to you, that they will not allow the humiliation of young servicemen who have recently joined our ranks.

That is our unanimous decision, the decision of the unit's entire soldier collective. We report it to you.

We ask you to send a reply if possible. We wish you success and good health.

With respect, on behalf of the unit's servicemen:

Guards Sergeant Tleuberlin, Guards Junior Sergeant Dedlovskiy, Guards Junior Sergeant Glinskiy, Guards Junior Sergeant Molodykh, Guards Junior Sergeant Blagovidov, Guards Private Glodan.

Esteemed Comrades!

I read your letter with great attention and interest. You raised an extraordinarily important and topical question. Without strong military discipline and firm statutory order, there can be no proper authority for the Army among the people or deep respect for a man in military uniform. Friendship between servicemen of different tours of duty and different nationalities is an essential condition for the combat readiness of the subunit, an indicator of the military collective's moral health. The cohesion of the personnel of the division, platoon, or company is a guarantee of the successful fulfillment of the tasks facing us.

Today, under the conditions of restructuring, Soviet society's long-awaited purge of everything alien to socialism is under way. The positive changes of truly revolutionary dimensions taking place in our people's lives create exceptionally favorable conditions for the qualitative improvement of the Armed Forces and the implementation of the tasks set before them by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference. In this situation, violations of statutory rules for mutual relations between servicemen become particularly intolerable.

I wish you success in your difficult martial labor, persistence and staunchness in the struggle for high military discipline in the subunit, and all that is best in life. I am sure that even after the end of military service each of you will honorably fulfill his duty as a patriot and citizen.

With respect,

USSR Defense Minister Army General D. Yazov, 9 August 1988

Army Exhibition Displays Consumer Goods
PM1708110588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Report by Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev: "Anything From a Dumbbell to a Computer Can Be Seen at the Exhibition of Consumer Goods Produced by USSR Defense Ministry Enterprises"]

[Excerpts] How do we live? What objects surround us? Do we have the opportunity to acquire high-quality, varied goods?

These are complex questions which affect everyone. And it is not for nothing that the party attaches such great importance to them today. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference stated unambiguously that the changes outlined in that area do not eliminate the main problem: The provision of goods and services continues to lag behind the growth of the population's purchasing power.

Rectifying the situation and rapidly creating a powerful industry for the production of consumer goods—that is the task set by the CPSU Conference not only for light industry and the enterprises of heavy industry, but also for defense plants.

The exhibition of consumer goods produced by the USSR Defense Ministry enterprises which opened Saturday in Moscow, on the premises of the Central Army Sports Club Light Athletics Stadium, can be considered a first promising step in this direction. Over 2,000 exhibits produced by enterprises of all branches of the Armed Forces and all categories of troops affirm that specific military production can address itself to people's everyday interests. [passage omitted]

Yesterday the exhibition was visited by Army General P. Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister; Army General V. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services; Engineer Troops Marshal N. Shestopalov, USSR deputy defense minister for construction and the billeting of troops; and Fleet Admiral A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

Shestopalov Presents Challenge Banner
PM1808083388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Banner for Construction Workers in Capital District"]

[Text] For military construction workers in a district of the capital, the current professional holiday coincides with a memorable date: Exactly 70 years ago a construction detachment was created at Moscow Military District Headquarters.

The district's military construction workers are now among the winners of socialist competition. Since the beginning of the year they have switched to the collective contract and improved their work efficiency.

For achieving high production and economic indicators in all-union socialist competition for the second quarter, the collective at the Moscow Military District Construction Administration has been awarded the USSR Defense Ministry and sectorial trade union Central Committee challenge red banner. Marshal of Engineering Troops N. Shestopalov, USSR deputy defense minister, presented it Saturday at a ceremony held at the district Officers Center.

The meeting was addressed by Army General K. Kochetov, commander of Moscow Military District.